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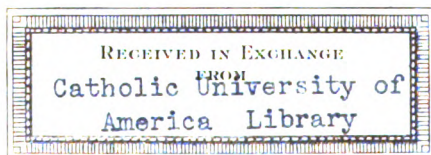
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Studies in American church history

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**THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
STUDIES IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY**

VOL. I.

**ÉTAT DE L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE
OU
DIOCÈSE DES ÉTATS-UNIS
DE
L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE**

**PAR
JEAN DILHET**

**TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED
by
REV. PATRICK WILLIAM BROWNE, S.T.D. (Laval)**

A DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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PREFACE

The Sulpicians have been identified with the spiritual and educational development of the Catholic Church in America since Jean-Jacques Olier and Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière, a layman of La Flèche, in Anjou, planned the erection of a town on the Island of Montreal which should serve as a bulwark against the Iroquois, and a centre whence the light of the Gospel might shine forth among the Indian tribes. The town was called Ville-Marie and placed under the patronage of the Holy Family ; and it was hoped that colonies might be sent out from there to disseminate Catholicism throughout the New World.

Organized under letters patent, and vested with the power to accept property, the priests of Saint-Sulpice became the clergy of Montreal. Four years after the foundation of Ville-Marie, two Sulpicians, Fathers Vignal and Lemaitre, had won the crown of martyrdom. Within the decade of their arrival in Montreal, the Sulpicians founded the College of Montreal, which still exists in undiminished vigor. In 1688 a Sulpician, the Abbé Fénelon, opened a mission at the Bay of Quinté on the shores of Lake Ontario, and in 1749 the Abbé Picquet established on the banks of the St. Lawrence, where Ogdensburg now stands, the Fort of the Presentation, to protect the Christian Mohawks from the Iroquois.

After the *fleur-de-lis* had ceased to wave over New France, in 1763, the Sulpicians adapted themselves

to the exigencies of the new order and labored zealously to keep alive the faith among the remnants of the *ancien régime* whose sacred heritage was menaced by arbitrary laws and heartless restrictions. When a new era dawned with the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, the devoted sons of Olier set out with ceaseless energy to promote educational and spiritual works in the Canadian Commonwealth.

Their advent to the United States coincides with the consecration of the first Bishop of Baltimore ; and they were instrumental in aiding him to solve the perplexing problem of providing priests for the newly-created diocese which extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi Valley.

Fathers Nagot, Garnier, Levadoux and Tessier, accompanied by five seminarians, landed in Baltimore on July 10, 1791, and soon afterwards purchased the "One Mile Tavern" on the outskirts of the city. They transformed it into a seminary, dedicating the establishment to the Blessed Virgin. In October of the same year St. Mary's Seminary was opened.

In 1792, another group of Sulpicians, Fathers Chicoisneau, Flaget, David, Maréchal, Richard and Ciquard, and two seminarians, Badin and Barrel, joined the pioneers at St. Mary's. In 1794, Father Du Bourg became a member of the Sulpician Community, and in 1798 their number was further augmented by the arrival of Father Jean Dilhet.

Owing to the paucity of vocations in the United States, the early days of St. Mary's were disheartening : the Seminary had made little progress, and the outlook was not cheering. In 1802, Father Emery, the Superior-General of the Sulpicians, decided to recall his subjects to France ; but Bishop Carroll implored him not to "deprive [him] of such valuable aids" and

entreated him to leave at least a germ "which will produce fruit in the season decreed by the Lord". In 1804, Pope Pius VII was in Paris, and Father Emery consulted him on the subject. "My son", said the Venerable Pontiff, "let that Seminary stand, it will bear fruit in due time." It has borne fruit, and abundantly; St. Mary's has been the nursery of the Catholic priesthood in the United States.

In the first years of its existence, academic duties demanded but a small number of priests at St. Mary's, and Bishop Carroll was thus enabled to utilize the services of the Sulpicians in the missions of his diocese, particularly in those regions which previous to the Treaty of Paris (1763) had been supplied with priests by the Bishop of Quebec. Fathers Levadoux, Richard and Flaget were sent to the Illinois country; Father Ciquard was sent to Maine; others labored in the outlying sections of Maryland or engaged in parochial work in Baltimore.

After the cession of Detroit to the United States in 1796 (provided for in the Treaty of London, 1795), Fathers Levadoux and Richard were sent to the Michigan missions by Bishop Carroll, and in 1798 they were joined by Father Dilhet.

Jean Dilhet was born at Toulouse, in the Department of Haute-Marne, on November 10, 1753, and entered the Seminary there in 1774. After the completion of his theological studies he went to the Sulpician Solitude at Issy, and in 1778 was appointed a professor at the Seminary of Bourges where he remained until transferred to Avignon in 1787. In 1789, he became professor of moral theology at Tulle. During the troublous days of the Revolution he lived in retirement; we have no data regarding the years that immediately preceded his arrival in Baltimore, on January 13, 1798. Six months later he reached Detroit, and

on July 1, he was appointed by Father Levadoux, then Vicar-General of Bishop Carroll, to the pastorate of Raisin River, Michigan. Father Dilhet at once began to set the parish in order ; and his first official act was the securing of church lands which had been alienated without ecclesiastical authorization. This brought him into collision with the *marguilliers* of the parish who evidently had overstepped their jurisdiction and authority.

The system of church administration in the old French settlements in America differed in many respects from that now in vogue in the United States. The financial and temporal administration was vested in a board of *marguilliers*, such as now exists in the Province of Quebec, Canada. It was a fruitful source of parochial difficulties.

When Father Dilhet assumed charge of the Raisin River parish, he found the *marguilliers* opposed to him, and when he undertook to enforce regulations for the better government of his pastoral charge, he met with many difficulties from a faction of parishioners who were influenced by the *marguilliers*. The regulations which he tried to enforce were similar to those in force at Detroit where they had been introduced by order of the Bishop of Quebec whilst it was under his jurisdiction.

They were in fact " The Rules for the Administration of the Church " prescribed in the old Ritual of Quebec. Having succeeded in enforcing these regulations, Father Dilhet began to make improvements in the church property ; but when he asked for a collection to defray the expenses, the parishioners did not respond very generously. In fact, a spirit of opposition began to manifest itself, and later culminated in open revolt on the part of a large faction in the parish.

The people there were very poor, as were most of the early French settlers in that section of the country, and they had never before been called upon in this way. The Jesuits and the Recollects who had ministered to them formerly had never asked for contributions of this sort ; neither did they seek any compensation for their services, so that the parishioners of Raisin River could plead precedent for their failure to respond to such an appeal.

They had agreed, however, when Father Dilhet assumed charge of the parish, to pay tithes amounting to four per cent of their farm produce ; but when they were asked to fulfil their engagements under this heading, they failed to meet their obligations.

In the year following his appointment to Raisin River, Father Dilhet decided to build a new church, as the building then serving as a church was merely a log hut and, presumably, unsuitable for the needs of the parish. The new church was to be a rather unpretentious building, 60 ft x 40, with a ceiling 20 ft high, and an addition 24 ft x 12 for a vestry. The parishioners, at a meeting held on July 21, 1799, decided to take up a collection for this purpose in the parishes of Raisin River, Detroit and Assumption (now Sandwich, Ontario) ; but there was little evidence of generosity on the part of Father Dilhet's flock and many of them refused even to pay their tithes. As a result of this unbecoming attitude, he refused to baptize the children of those who could easily fulfil this obligation and neglected it.

This state of affairs lasted for some time ; and at a meeting of the parishioners held on December 14, 1800, the people expressed their grievance very frankly, and while admitting that the parish priest had the right to do as he did with regard to refusing to baptize the children of those who did not pay

their tithes, they begged Father Dilhet to use some other means of enforcing payment. Opposition to him was becoming more intense as time went by.

In June, 1801, Bishop Denaut, of Quebec, visited Raisin River at the request of Bishop Carroll and administered the sacrament of Confirmation. This necessarily caused much excitement and it brought forth a manifestation of religious enthusiasm which Father Dilhet endeavored to utilize in the furtherance of his plans. He again pleaded for the building of the new church, and as an earnest of his desire to see the project realized, he offered to donate half his perquisites for three years if the tithes paid reached four hundred bushels of grain. This had no effect ; nor did subsequent appeals for this object. Father Dilhet became discouraged and sent the resignation of his parochial charge to Bishop Carroll. The resignation was accepted ; and at a meeting of the parishioners held at the beginning of the year 1804, Father Dilhet read Bishop Carroll's letter accepting his resignation and asking the people to collect a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of another priest's journey to Michigan. On March 13, Father Dilhet left Raisin River and went to Detroit where he was notified by Father Richard that before returning to France, whither he had been recalled by his Superior, he should make a missionary tour to Michilimackinack. This he did ; but he returned to Raisin River in September, and read from the altar of the church the following announcement, the original of which is recorded in the Register of St. Mary's Church, Monroe City, Michigan :

Rev. John Dilhet, priest of Detroit and missionary apostolic, on his return from his mission at Michilimackinack, by order of Mgr. John Carroll, Bishop of the United States, makes

known that he will no longer reside at Raisin River, but in Detroit. He will, however, come from time to time on a missionary tour to Raisin River as often as the needs of the mission or the wishes of the people require it. During his absence new-born children will be privately baptized ; people shall assist at public prayers every Sunday and holyday of obligation, and come to Detroit to fetch him on sick calls ; Mr. Alexis Loranger, singer and catechist, shall regularly say the prayers in the church and teach catechism on Sundays and holydays ; he will record the burials celebrated in the absence of the missionary priest, to whom he shall deliver a copy of the same at his next visit to Raisin River, and will publish the bans of marriage only after receipt of an order from the priest himself, the certificate of said publications, and of the impediments known to him, countersigned by him to be sent to Detroit.

He paid a final visit to Raisin River in May, when he again urged the people to provide funds for the travelling expenses of the priest whom Bishop Carroll was to send to Michigan ; but no effort was made to take up a collection for the purpose. He returned to Detroit and remained with Father Richard till the autumn of 1805 when he went to Baltimore with the intention of returning to France. Soon after his arrival in Baltimore, Father Dilhet was sent by Bishop Carroll to Conewago to replace Father Merx who had been transferred to St. John's Church, Baltimore. During the summer and autumn of 1806 he was at Pigeon Hill with Father Nagot assisting him in the direction of a recently-organized clerical school. He also attended some of his neighboring missions in Pennsylvania. Towards the end of 1806, Father Dilhet returned to Baltimore ; and on April 27, 1807, left the United States for Bordeaux, France. After a brief sojourn at St. Sulpice in Paris, he was sent to Limoges to aid in the restoration of the Seminary, which had been closed during the Revolution. In announcing

this appointment to the Bishop of Limoges, Father Emery writes :

M. Dilhet a de l'expérience, du zèle, de l'activité. Il a travaillé dans le centre de l'Amérique. Puisqu'il a réussi auprès des sauvages il n'aura pas de peine à réussir auprès des Limousins.

In 1810 Father Dilhet was sent to Puy on a similar mission, and died there suddenly at the diocesan Seminary on October 31, 1811.

Dilhet seems to have been cast in a mould different from Nagot, Tessier, Flaget, Levadoux and Richard. His mentality as revealed in his work and his temperament as evidenced by his pastoral career indicate that he was unfitted for the rugged and toilsome life of the American mission. He does not seem to have had a due appreciation of the work done by his co-laborers, and too often over-estimates the part played by himself. He lacked judgment in dealing with those with whose spiritual welfare he had been entrusted and failed to accomplish anything of permanent value. He had splendid visions but failed to translate them into realities ; and unlike the other zealous and practical sons of Olier, he occupies but a small place in the annals of the missionary and educational life of the United States.

BERTRAND (*Bibliothèque sulpicienne*, vol. i, p. 36) makes the statement that " a priest who had seen or had in his possession some manuscripts of Dilhet " sent him a list of those in June 1887. They range from sermon books in English and German to a polyglot Indian Dictionary. These manuscripts have not come to light ; and all efforts to locate them have been fruitless. The Archives of Montreal, Quebec, Baltimore, Issy and Paris have been searched ; but

nothing has been found except the manuscript here translated and two letters, one of which is herewith transcribed through the courtesy of Father Levesque of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. In reply to an enquiry, Father Levesque writes as follows : " Ici à St-Sulpice nous n'avons pas même une copie de ce manuscrit (*État de l'Eglise*). Comme M. Dilhet est mort au Puy, et qu'il y a laissé ce qu'il possédait, j'ai demandé au Supérieur du Grand Séminaire du Puy, s'ils avaient quelque manuscrit sur ce sujet de M. Dilhet. Il se fait faire des recherches et n'a rien trouvé. Les Séminaires de Toulouse et Bourges, où M. Dilhet a passé avant d'aller en Amérique n'ont rien de lui. Ce que nous avons ici c'est une lettre autographe de M. Dilhet à Mgr Carroll, évêque de Baltimore. La voici :

MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu il y a peu de jours votre lettre datée du 20 8bre 1768. Je reçois avec reconnaissance les avis charitables et paternels que vous m'y donnez pour l'exercice de mon ministère dans la réforme des abus. La foi est pure dans cette contrée et mes paroissiens l'ont conservée telle qu'ils l'ont reçue de nos pères communs. Les abus y étaient en grand nombre à raison de l'ignorance des mystères et de la morale de notre religion, faute d'instructions suivies. J'ai tâché de les éclairer et l'instruction la plus soignée leur a été communiquée avec surabondance. Ils m'ont écouté, et le succès de mon ministère a été au-delà de mes espérances. Je les ai vus en grand nombre et je les vois encore chaque jour revenir sincèrement à Dieu et la paroisse a changé entièrement. Mon ouvrage n'est pas achevé sans doute et le Seigneur n'a daigné répandre ses bénédictions sur mes travaux que pour me donner un nouveau courage dans les difficultés plus grandes qui s'offriront à mon zèle. *Sed nihil horum vereor nec facio animam meam pretiosorem quam me, dummodo consummen cursum meum et ministerium verbi quod accepi a Domino Jesu.*

J'ai composé un livre d'instructions et de prières pour les Hurons et les Pouwatamis qui sont mes voisins et même dans

ma paroisse. Mais je fais peu de fruit auprès d'eux à cause de la boisson et du commerce qu'ils ont avec des personnes d'une autre religion que la nôtre. Je me recommande à vos prières et m'unis à vos SS. Sacrifices avec les sentiments du plus profond respect.

DILETT

A la Rivière-aux-Raisins, ce 21 juin, 1799.

Présentez, je vous prie, mes humbles regards à M. le Curé.

To Reverend John Carrol,
Bishop,
Baltimore.

Etat de l'Eglise catholique ou Diocèse des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale is a manuscript volume in 12mo of 193 closely written pages, preserved in the Archives of the Sulpician Seminary of Baltimore. It is not the original autograph but a copy, much of which is poorly done. The text is hard to decipher, and the ink is faded to such an extent as to render it illegible without the use of a magnifying glass. Shea, who used it copiously, seems to have regarded it as a document of prime importance; he quotes numerous passages from it as *pièces justificatives*. One other partial transcript exists and is in the possession of the Detroit Public Library. (Burton Collection.)

It is not a history, as the author assures us, but a sketch of ecclesiastical developments viewed by him during an eventful nine years' residence in the United States together with a *résumé* of the activities of the Catholic Church prior to the establishment of the American hierarchy. It has three major divisions, and we may divide the work as follows :—

- 1° Early days of the Catholic Church in America ;
- 2° The Establishment of the See of Baltimore ;
- 3° The Catholic Missions and Congregations in the United States.

The work is poorly planned, it lacks continuity; and repetitions are of frequent occurrence. The author's style is prolix and facts are at times obscured by verbiage. He indulges in gross exaggerations; the personal factor is over-emphasized, and *a priori* judgments characterize many of his statements. His method of appraising men and events is not in accord with the demands of the canons of historical criticism, and racial prejudices frequently enter into the field of vision. Sentimentality obtrudes itself at various stages and there is a persistent tendency to interpret facts in terms of fancy.

Notwithstanding these blemishes, the work is of great value to students of American church history, since it furnishes numerous data which were largely matters of personal observation. During Dilhet's residence in Baltimore, as a member of the Sulpician Community, he had close relations with Bishop Carroll, and doubtless had access to official correspondence; and his missionary activities in Michigan and Pennsylvania brought him into contact with the clergy in those sections of the mission field.

His statement that he compiled the volume "*sans aucune ressource dans les livres imprimés, sans aucune note ou ouvrage manuscrit qui ait précédé*" seems to be an exaggeration, since at the time there were many published works treating of the history, soil, climate and people of the United States, and several of those were available in France, e. g.: CRÊVECŒUR, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l'État de New-York*, Paris, Maradan, 1801; VOLNEY, *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des États-Unis*, Paris, 1803; ROBIN, *Voyage dans les États-Unis* (Robin was a chaplain with Rochambeau's army); *Voyages de M. le marquis Chastelleux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale dans les armées 1780-81-82* (Chastelleux was

also with Rochambeau's army); SCHÖPP, *Reise durch einige der Mittlern und Südlichen Vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten*, Erlangen, 1783; KALM, *En resa til Norra Amerika* (of which French and English translations were available in 1775); ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT, *Voyages dans les États-Unis*; ERDMANN's *Geography and History of America*, 1800. Furthermore, the *Maryland Gazette*, a Baltimore newspaper, was available.

The translation offered is literal, and an attempt has been made to conform strictly to the original, which, in a few instances, has been emendated; and omissions are supplied in order to bridge over the *lacunæ*, due, presumably, to the oversight of the transcribers (of whom there were three, at least, as indicated by the handwriting). Lack of accents and misspellings are of frequent occurrence; no effort has been made to remedy these except where such a course was imperatively necessary to make the text intelligible. The translator's aim has been to make the work available for students of American Church history; and literary effect has been avoided. Where actual translation was impossible, an adaptation has been made, which, it is hoped, will render the author's meaning clear. The text is reproduced with its irregularity of capitalization, its variations in the spelling of proper names, its peculiar forms and irregular arrangement of topics. I have occasionally taken the liberty to change the punctuation by supplying periods and semicolons, where passages would otherwise remain confusing. With these exceptions the manuscript has been transcribed and edited as accurately as possible.

The purport of the Notes (which are found at the back of the volume) is to explain the text and verify it, where needed. They are limited to the ecclesiastical field, except where it was deemed necessary to make

an excursion into the field of political history to elucidate the author's statements. They are placed at the back and not as page footings owing to the fact that they contain numerous references which could not be placed conveniently in the body of the text. Moreover, this method seems the most suitable to the student, who is thus enabled to visualize text and translation by a single process. A similar method has been followed by Thwaites in editing the *Relations des Jésuites* and by others who have edited texts with translation.

In the preparation of this work I have incurred many obligations, and I beg to thank the Rev. Dr. Guilday, Director of the Seminar of American Church History, for generous aid in collating material and revising my notes, and my fellow-workers in the Seminar for many valuable suggestions. I acknowledge gratefully my indebtedness to friends and former associates in Quebec, particularly the late Monsignor Lindsay who sponsored my researches in the Archbishop's Archives, Monsignor Pelletier, Rector of Laval University, the Abbé Garneau, Librarian of Laval, and Dr. Pierre-Georges Roy, Provincial Archivist. I am especially indebted to Fathers Havey, of the Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C., Boyer, of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Levesque, of St. Sulpice, Paris, and Mr. Égidius Fauteux, Librarian of La Bibliothèque de St-Sulpice, Montreal, who have supplied me with documents and other material from their Archives, to Miss McShane of the Library of the Catholic University of America, and Miss Madeleine Casey, of the Canadian Archives, Ottawa, Canada, for many courtesies. I thank the Rev. A. J. Frederick, of Baltimore, Rev. A. F. Plomer, C.S.B., of Assumption College, Sandwich, Ontario, Rev. Henry de Gryse, of St. Mary's Church,

Monroe City, Michigan, and Mr. John T. Reily, of Philadelphia, Pa., author of *Conewago, A Collection of Local Church History*, for information which they have generously supplied.

Washington, D. C.,
December 29, 1921.

AVANT-PROPOS

L'ouvrage que nous entreprenons est un ouvrage tout nouveau et en même tems des plus intéressants que l'on puisse offrir à la piété et à l'édification des fidèles. Quoy de plus intéressant en effet que de voir se former un nouveau monde catholique semblable à l'ancien, que de voir des Prêtres comme de nouveaux apôtres travailler avec le plus grand zèle à la conversion des âmes des pécheurs et des hérétiques, de voir ces pécheurs et ces hérétiques accourir tous les jours en foule pour pleurer leurs égaremens, pour augmenter le troupeau de J. C.; de nouvelles paroisses se former, ou les anciennes accroître visiblement tous les jours; les temples du Seigneur s'élever au milieu des villes et des campagnes; à Baltimore les chrétiens fidèles, les nouveaux convertis, retracer la ferveur des premiers siècles; un pontife vénérable par son âge, encore plus par ses talens, par sa vertu, par l'estime et la vénération générale et universelle qui lui est payée comme un tribut en tous lieux et par un chacun sans exception, retracer et faire revivre en sa personne l'image du chef des apôtres dont il a toute l'autorité comme il obtient le même succès, de le voir souvent entouré par ses prêtres qu'il aime comme ses enfans, qu'il respecte comme ses dignes coopérateurs et dont il est chéri comme un père tendre et bienfaisant.

Que ne m'est-il donné de pouvoir vous offrir le tableau de toutes les merveilles de la miséricorde du Seigneur sur ce peuple nouveau ! mais je sens mon impuissance à vous le présenter avec tous ses traits,

FOREWORD

The work which we undertake is quite novel ; but nevertheless it is a most interesting means of stimulating piety and enlightening the faithful. What really can be of greater interest than to envisage a new Catholic world shaping itself like the old ; to see priests working zealously as new apostles for the conversion of the souls of heretics and sinners, and vision these crowding daily to the sacred tribunal to bewail their transgressions and augment the flock of Jesus Christ ; to view temples of the Lord rising in town and country, and see in Baltimore a devout laity and recent converts emulating the fervor of the early centuries ; a prelate venerable in years and virtue, esteemed everywhere and beloved by everybody, living the life of the Chief of the Apostles, from whom he has anew received authority and whose work he perpetuates, often surrounded by his priests whom he loves as children and respects as worthy fellow-laborers who, in turn, revere him as a kind and indulgent father.

Would that I were able to portray the wonderful manifestations of God's mercy towards this new nation ! But I feel that I cannot adequately describe them, or even undertake such a task.

et même de l'entreprendre. Ce n'est ici qu'une esquisse bien légère, qu'une nomenclature imparfaite, un faible crayon, ou pour mieux dire comme nous l'avons intitulé, un État de l'Église des États Unis tel que j'ai pu me le procurer avec les moyens les plus faibles, entièrement abandonné à moi-même et à mon impuissance, sans aucune ressource dans les livres imprimés, sans aucune note ou ouvrage manuscrit qui ait précédé.

J'ai cru néanmoins que cet essai pourroit encourager d'autres personnes plus habiles que moi et plus à portée d'obtenir des renseignements, à augmenter ce faible essai et à faire dans la suite une histoire de l'Église catholique et de ses progrès dans les États Unis capable d'intéresser et par l'abondance des faits et par la manière dont ils seront présentés.

Voici quel est notre plan : avant d'entrer dans aucun détail de l'état actuel des choses, nous ferons connaître en peu de mots quelle a été l'Église catholique des États Unis depuis la fondation des colonies américaines jusqu'au moment de cette grande révolution qui a donné l'indépendance à ces mêmes colonies sous le nom des États Unis, nous en viendrons après cela à l'établissement propre de cette Église par l'établissement de l'épiscopat et de quelle manière cet épiscopat a été établi.

Nous donnerons ensuite une histoire très abrégée de l'établissement du Séminaire de St Sulpice; je dis très abrégée parceque je me propose d'en faire l'histoire à part, ainsi que du collège de Ste-Marie, dans la même ville appartenant à la même Compagnie ; nous passerons ensuite à la description de chaque paroisse et mission catholique dans les États-Unis, précédée d'une description de la ville ou de l'établissement des plantations où ces églises paroissiales ou ces missions se sont formées et accrues avec le tems. Nous les appellerons *Congrégations*.

This work is merely a modest effort, an imperfect sketch, a feeble attempt, or, as our title indicates, it is simply an account of the Church in the United States such as I have been able to furnish with the means at my disposal ; for I am left entirely to my own resources, without assistance from printed book, note, or any earlier manuscript.

I have felt, however, that this venture might possibly induce others better equipped than I am and better able to gather data to supplement this feeble attempt and produce at some future date a history of the Catholic Church and its progress in the United States, which would be interesting not only by its wealth of detail but in the manner in which it is presented.

This is the plan we have adopted : — Before entering into particulars regarding the present condition of affairs, we shall tell briefly what the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States was from the establishment of the American colonies to the time of the Great Revolution which brought about the Independence of the colonies now known as the United States ; we shall then discuss the actual establishment of the Church by the erection of bishopric and the manner in which the bishopric was initiated. We shall then give a brief history of the founding of the Seminary of St. Sulpice [at Baltimore.] This, as I have stated, must be brief, as I intend to write the story of this institution as well as that of St. Mary's College in the same city, belonging to the same Company.

We shall then pass to a description of each parish and Catholic mission in the United States, prefacing it by an historical account of the town or plantation-settlement, where these parish churches or missions have been formed or developed, in course of time. We will call these congregations.

Malgré le progrès rapide de la Religion Catholique on s'apercevra aisément que le peuple Catholique est encore en très petit nombre par rapport à ceux qui sont hors de l'Église et qui n'y soit jamais entré et ne l'ont jamais connue ; mais le progrès qui a eu lieu jusqu'à présent et qu'on espère devenir plus rapide dans la suite, donne de grandes consolations pour l'avenir et peut-être fera naître à plusieurs prêtres le désir de se transporter dans ces régions nouvelles où l'espérance d'une si abondante moisson est si bien fondée et où malheureusement il y a si peu d'ouvriers.

Au reste, nous ne donnerons pas une description entière des états, des comtés, des villes, des congrégations, des lieux de paroisses et de missions, mais autant qu'il convient pour faire connaître leur importance, leur étendue, le progrès que la Religion Catholique y a fait ou peut y faire encore. Il y aura aussi des lieux assez intéressants pour lesquels nous n'avons pas acquis assez de connaissances certaines et nous nous bornerons alors à quelques notes très courtes pour ne rien hasarder qui ne soit pas conforme à la vérité. Il faudra bien que nos lecteurs pardonnent notre brièveté en pareilles circonstances. Le motif qui nous y a porté est bien raisonnable et bien propre à nous justifier.

Notwithstanding the rapid progress of Catholicism in the United States, it will be readily noticed that there are relatively few Catholics there in comparison with those who are outside the church and know nothing about it ; yet the progress which has been made and which it is hoped, will be even more rapid in the days to come, is indeed encouraging for the future, and this should be an inspiration to many priests who are eager to venture into these new regions where there are radiant hopes for an abundant harvest, but where, unfortunately, the workers are few.

It is not our intention to give a complete description of the states, counties, towns, congregations, or sites of parishes and missions, but merely to set down what is necessary to understand how important, and how extensive they are, and to realize the progress that Catholicism has made, or is destined to make there. There are many very interesting places with which we are not familiar, so we shall confine ourselves to a brief notice of them, lest we hazard anything which may not be strictly true. Hence, our readers must excuse our brevity under such circumstances. The motive which prompts us to undertake this work is perfectly reasonable and quite justifiable.

ÉTAT DE L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE OU DIOCÈSE DES ÉTATS UNIS DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE

ORIGINES DES ÉTABLISSEMENTS DES ANGLAIS DANS L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE

Tout le monde sait (qu'environ six ans après la découverte de l'Amérique méridionale par Colomb) qu'on attribue en Angleterre à Sébastien Cabot, la découverte de l'Amérique septentrionale qu'il fit en 1497 au nom de Henri VII, Roi d'Angleterre, et ce pays fut constamment nommé la terre neuve jusqu'à Amérique Vespuce. Le nom de terre neuve fut alors restreint à l'île de la côte du nord qui conserve son nom. Mais ces découvertes furent sans établissement de colonies dans le pays jusqu'à Walter Raleigh qui fonda une colonie dans ce qu'on appelle maintenant comme alors. Il la nomma Virginie à cause de la reine Elizabeth à laquelle il accorda cet honneur et sur la rivière qui est encore appelée James, en françois Jacques.

On sait encore que les françois depuis cette époque jusqu'en 1763, étoient en possession légitime du Canada et de la Louisiane. Mais dans le traité de Versailles 1763 ils cédèrent le Canada et la Louisiane aux Anglois. Les colonies angloises qui avoient été toujours croissant depuis Walter Raleigh, s'aggrandirent tellement par la cession susdite qu'il étoit difficile de donner des

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OR DIOCESE OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

It is universally known that about six years after the discovery of Southern America by Columbus, in England the discovery of North America, made in 1497 under the patronage of the English King, Henry VII, was ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, and that this region was generally called the new-found-land until the time of Amerigo Vespucci, when the designation Newfoundland became restricted to the island on the northern coast now known by this name.¹

But those discoveries did not result in the establishment of any settlement in those regions until the time of Walter Raleigh who founded a colony on the James River (Jacques, in French) which he named Virginia—a name which it still bears. He named it Virginia in compliment to Queen Elizabeth.²

It is likewise known that the French were in lawful possession of Canada and Louisiana from that time until 1763 when by the Treaty of Paris both Canada and Louisiana were ceded to the English.³

The English colonies which had been increasing since Raleigh's time became so vast as a result of the

bornes à l'Empire Anglois dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Parmi les premières colonies il n'y eut point assez de religion pour qu'ils désirassent avoir un ministre et cela dura longtems jusqu'au moment qu'on jugea convenable de leur envoyer des femmes avec lesquelles ils pussent se marier, alors ils commencèrent quelques pratiques de religion ; et de nouveaux colons étant venus s'établir dans ce qu'on appelle maintenant la Nouvelle Angleterre, comme la plupart étoient Presbitériens échappés à la persécution des Anglicans, et très attachés à leur secte, ils eurent des ministres de leur religion. Ceux-ci les entretenrent dans leur fanatisme, que ces États ont toujours témoigné constamment une grande aversion pour les autres sectes et surtout pour les Catholiques Romains. De là vient qu'il y en a eu toujours si peu dans ces contrées.

Cependant, les Catholiques Romains s'étoient répandus dans les colonies angloises. On en trouvoit partout, spécialement en Pensylvanie, dans la Nouvelle York, dans la Virginie et surtout dans le Maryland où presque tous dans le commencement étoient Catholiques Romains. Ils y avoient été amenés par le comte de Baltimore sous le règne de Marie Reine d'Angleterre, et de là vient le nom de Maryland donné à cet état, lequel signifie la Terre de Marie.

cession that it became difficult to determine the boundaries of the English possessions in North America.

In the early colonial settlements there was for a long time so little religion that there was no desire on the part of the colonists to have a minister. This state of affairs continued until it was found desirable to send out women so that they [the colonists] marry. After that they began to hold religious services. When later, colonists came to settle in what is called New England, most of whom were Presbyterians fleeing from Anglican persecution and firmly attached to their own creed, they brought with them ministers of their own denomination. These fomented a spirit of intolerance, and these states have ever shown dislike for other creeds, and particularly for Roman Catholics. To this must be ascribed the small number of the latter in those sections.⁴

Yet Roman Catholics were to be found scattered here and there in the English colonies chiefly in Pennsylvania, in New York, in Virginia and especially in Maryland where in early days nearly all the colonists were Roman Catholics ; they had been brought there by Lord Baltimore during the reign of Mary, Queen of England, whence derives the name Maryland, signifying "Land of Mary." which was given to this state.⁵

ÉTAT DES MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES AVANT L'INDÉPENDANCE DES ÉTATS-UNIS

Ces missions n'étoient pas dans un état florissant soit dans les états sur la mer Atlantique et au milieu des anglois Presbitériens et Anglicains, soit dans la Louisiane qui changea souvent de maître, tantôt aux Anglois, tantôt aux Espagnols. Les missionnaires partout y étoient très rares, excepté dans le Maryland et dans la Pensylvanie où les missions étoient dirigées et gouvernées par les PP. Jésuites. Dans la Louisiane il y avoit très peu de prêtres françois, et comme les habitants étoient presque tous françois ils étoient dans le plus grand besoin même sous la domination espagnole, et encore quels sujets ! La plupart étoient des aventuriers ou des hommes suspects qu'il falloit surveiller avec le plus grand soin, des esprits altiers et indociles qui étant interdits par l'évêque ou le vicaire apostolique prétendoient pouvoir continuer leurs fonctions au mépris de son autorité. Les françois canadiens n'avoient aussi aucune confiance dans ces prêtres espagnols, à raison du peu de sympathie entre les deux peuples, des mœurs et des usages dans l'exercice des fonctions ecclésiastiques un peu différentes des nôtres quoique les mêmes pour l'essentiel comme la matière et la forme des sacrements.

Dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, même dans ces derniers tems, l'esprit d'intolérance regnoit encore et on avoit peine à y reconnaître quelques Catholiques. Ceux qui l'étoient n'osoient le paraître et n'avoient point de missionnaires comme les Irlandois et quelques françois.

CONDITION OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS BEFORE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

These missions were not in a flourishing condition either in the provinces along the Atlantic seaboard where English Presbyterians and Anglicans held sway, or in Louisiana which had changed its allegiance several times, being in turn English and Spanish. There were few missionaries anywhere except in Maryland and Pennsylvania where the missions were under the direction and government of the Jesuit Fathers. In Louisiana there were only a few French priests, and as most of the inhabitants were French, they were in a sad condition even under Spanish domination. And such characters ! They were for the most part adventurers, or men under suspicion, who needed a great deal of supervision ; they were haughty, intractable individuals who, though suspended by the bishop, or vicar-apostolic, claimed that they could exercise the ministry in defiance of ecclesiastical authority. The French-Canadians had no confidence in those Spanish priests on account of a lack of sympathy between the races and difference in their manners and methods in the performance of ecclesiastical rites which are somewhat unlike ours, though they were the same in essentials, such as the matter and form of the sacraments.⁶

In New England, even in recent times, the spirit of intolerance still held sway, and it was difficult to discover any Catholics there. Even those who were Catholics — a few Irish and French — did not dare to

Dans le Maryland, centre de la catholicité, les missionnaires jésuites y étoient en assez grand nombre, mais l'exercice de leurs fonctions y étoit gêné par les Anglicans et les lois angloises et même persécuté de tems à autre. Dans la Pensylvanie on y voyoit des Allemands en grand nombre attachés à leur religion, des Irlandois ayant comme les précédents des prêtres de leur nation, et surtout à New York pour les Irlandois, à Philadelphie pour les Allemands ; mais quels étoient ces prêtres, pour la plupart des prêtres Irlandois peu instruits et peu édifiants dans leur conduite, des prêtres Allemands plus instruits que les premiers mais donnant trop souvent des scandales et méprisant l'interdit et excommunication lancée contr'eux par le vicaire apostolique communément anglois ou anglo-américain et jésuite; ils s'érigeoient indépendants de toute juridiction et ne vouloient reconnaître aucun supérieur immédiat en Amérique. Tel étoit l'état des choses pour la religion avant la guerre de l'Indépendance et cette indépendance acquise par les États Unis.

declare themselves as such ; and there were no missionaries among them.

In Maryland, which was a Catholic center, there were several Jesuits ; but they were handicapped in the discharge of their duties by the Anglicans and by English laws.⁷

In Pennsylvania, there were a great many Germans who practised their religion and some Irish who, like the former, had priests of their own nationality.

This was the case especially as regards the Irish in New York, and the Germans in Philadelphia. But what sort of priests ! Generally Irish priests without any education, whose conduct was by no means edifying, and German priests, better educated than the former, but too often giving scandal and defying suspension and excommunication issued against them by the vicar-apostolic (generally an English, or an Anglo-American, Jesuit). They declared themselves independent of all jurisdiction and refused to recognize any immediate superior in America. Such was the condition of affairs from a religious view point before the war which brought about the Independence of the United States.⁸

ÉTABLISSEMENT DU DIOCÈSE DE BALTIMORE ET DES ÉTATS-UNIS

Malgré les persécutions, la Religion Catholique avoit fait des progrès en Amérique par le zèle des Jésuites. Le père André le Blanc, jésuite d'un grand zèle et d'une éminente piété, avoit accompagné les premiers colons dans le Maryland et y étoit venu avec le comte de Baltimore. On avoit cessé depuis ce temps-là d'envoyer des missionnaires de la même compagnie, de la ville de Londres et de l'Angleterre. Le père Grayton en 1720 avoit introduit le catholicisme en Pensylvanie et y avoit fait beaucoup de progrès. Ce progrès avoit été bien plus sensible lorsque la persécution se fut ralentie et surtout lorsqu'elle eût cessée par la paix obtenue, avec la jouissance de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

On sait que la Constitution américaine avoit mis au rang des droits de l'homme, le droit de vivre chacun selon sa convenance et de suivre la religion qu'on avoit adoptée, publiquement et de la manière la plus libre. Cette liberté ne fut pas chimérique mais réelle, et les Catholiques n'étant pas plus gênés se montrèrent à découvert. Le nombre accrut en tout lieu, plusieurs protestants se convertirent. La liberté du gouvernement attira des prêtres étrangers qui vinrent au secours de cette abondante moisson, plusieurs meilleurs que les précédents.

Il n'étoit plus possible de conserver les choses pour la religion sur le pied. Jusqu'alors le premier évêque Catholique de l'Angleterre nommoit un supérieur pour

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE AND THE UNITED STATES

Persecutions notwithstanding, the Catholic Religion had made progress in America owing to the zeal displayed by the Jesuits. Father Andrew White, a saintly and zealous Jesuit, had accompanied the first colonists to Maryland, having come out with Lord Baltimore. Since that time no other missionaries had been sent from London or from England by the [Baltimore] company. In 1720 Father Grayton [Greateon] had introduced Catholicism into Pennsylvania, and it had made considerable progress there; its progress became more apparent when persecution relaxed, and especially after it had entirely ceased with the advent of liberty and independence.⁹

It is known that the American Constitution sets fourth among "the rights of man" that every man has the right to live as he sees fit and to freely and publicly practise whatever religious creed he professes. This freedom was not a chimera but a reality; and Catholics, being no longer trammelled, openly professed their faith. The number of Catholics increased notably, and many Protestants were converted. The freedom granted by the government attracted foreign priests of a better type than heretofore, who came to aid in gathering this abundant harvest.¹⁰

From the standpoint of religion things could no longer remain as they were. Up to that time the senior Catholic Bishop in England nominated the superior for all the Anglo-American and French missions, and

toutes les missions, anglo-américaines et françaises, et depuis longtemps c'étoit le Docteur Carroll, jésuite grandement estimé par sa naissance, ses talents distingués et toutes sortes de bonnes qualités. Il n'étoit pas cependant convenable que ce pays étant devenu un état indépendant de l'Angleterre, fût pour la religion dépendant des évêques catholiques de cette nation. La bonne amitié entre les Anglois et les Américains pouvoit cesser, et alors quel embarras pour recourir à la première autorité ecclésiastique en Angleterre. Cette communication auroit pu devenir suspecte aux États Unis. D'ailleurs le nombre des catholiques étoit suffisant pour former un diocèse et avoir un Evêque.

Le clergé américain s'assembla, on fit une pétition au Pape, on demanda M. Carroll pour Evêque, il avoit été élu d'une voix unanime. On eut même soin d'en prévenir le congrès qui fut pleinement satisfait et du choix de l'évêque connu et estimé dans tous les états de l'Union et de l'érection d'un évêché et diocèse catholique. Ils s'unirent même au Clergé Romain pour appuyer la pétition et demande faite au Pape. Le Pape ne fit pas la moindre difficulté ; il créa avec plaisir un siège épiscopal dans les États Unis, établit ce diocèse si vaste qui embrasse tous les États-Unis actuels et futurs ; et parfaitement instruit du mérite de M. Carroll, il confirma la nomination qui en avoit été faite par le clergé américain, anglois, français, allemand, irlandois. J'ai dit que ce consentement fut unanime, car de vingt-six prêtres assemblés pour cette élection, vingt-quatre donnèrent leurs suffrages pour M. Jean Carroll et le jugèrent plus propre à supporter le poids de l'épiscopat, et à remplir tous les devoirs qui y sont attachés.

Au reste toutes choses se firent d'une manière canonique dans cette élection. Tous les prêtres y furent

for a considerable time the superior was Dr. Carroll, a Jesuit, who was held in the greatest esteem on account of his parentage, his distinguished talents and many other excellent qualities. But it was no longer befitting that this country, having become independent of England politically, should remain dependent ecclesiastically on English bishops, since in the event of a rupture between the English and the Americans it would be very embarrassing to have recourse to the chief ecclesiastical authority in England, as such communication would be open to suspicion by the United States. Moreover, there were sufficient Catholics [in the country] to warrant a diocese and a bishop.¹¹

The American clergy met and forwarded a petition to the Pope ; they asked for Mr. Carroll as bishop since he was their unanimous choice. They had even taken the precaution to make known to Congress the purport of their meeting. The Congress agreed to their action in choosing as bishop one who was known and respected throughout the Union, and concurred in their plan for the erection of a bishopric and a Catholic diocese. Congress even united with the Roman clergy in urging the request made to the Pope. The latter did not raise the least objection. He willingly created an episcopal see in the United States, established this vast diocese which comprises the present existing states and others which might be erected in the future ; and being thoroughly informed regarding the worthiness of Mr. Carroll, he confirmed the nomination which had been made by the Anglo-American, French, German and Irish clergy. I have said that their assent was unanimous, for of the twenty-six priests assembled, twenty-four voted for Mr. Carroll and considered him the most capable of bearing the burden of the episcopate and of fulfilling the duties thereto attached.¹²

appelés, leurs suffrages furent entièrement libres et on avoit déjà obtenu du Saint-Siège le droit de faire une telle élection. En donnant ce droit à exercer, le Saint-Siège avoit demandé qu'on examinât avec maturité et qu'on lui envoyât le choix qu'on avoit fait sur la ville la plus convenable pour en former le siège épiscopal. Aussitôt que le pape eût été informé de la volonté ou plutôt du désir ardent du clergé et du peuple des États-Unis sur l'établissement et création d'un siège épiscopal, il leur donna la direction que nous venons de voir conformément aux règles ecclésiastiques et aux SS. Canons et nomma un certain nombre de cardinaux de la Propagande pour s'assembler et discuter cette affaire si importante pour toute l'Église Catholique. Par un décret émané de cette Congrégation le 12 juillet 1789, il fut décidé par eux et le pape qui l'avoit approuvé que tous les prêtres qui alors exerçoient légitimement le saint ministère et avoient soin des âmes dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, seroient autorisés à se réunir et à consulter et à déterminer ensemble :

1. Dans quelle ville le siège épiscopal seroit érigé.
2. Quel de ces prêtres leur paroïssoit le plus digne et le plus propre à être promu à cette charge si importante, lequel droit on accordoit à ces prêtres cette fois seulement et comme spéciale grâce et concession du St-Siège d'élire et de présenter un sujet pour l'épiscopat.

En conséquence de ce décret et pour obéir à ses ordres les susdits prêtres ayant charge d'âmes dans les États Unis d'Amérique convinrent unanimement qu'un évêque ayant juridiction ordinaire devoit être établi dans la ville de Baltimore à cause que cette ville située dans le Maryland, où se trouvoit le plus grand nombre de prêtres et de catholiques, paroïssoit le plus propre à entretenir les communications avec les autres états; et que le Maryland devoit être regardé comme la source

Moreover, everything in connection with the election was carried out in a canonical manner. All the priests of the Mission were summoned, their votes were cast freely, and the permission of the Holy See had been obtained for holding the election. In according this special favor the Holy See requested that the question of choosing a city which would be a fitting place for an episcopal see be maturely weighed and that the choice of the city be made known to It. As soon as the Pope had been informed of the wishes, or rather the ardent desire of the people and the clergy of the United States for the establishment and the creation of an episcopal see, he gave them the above-mentioned directions conformably to ecclesiastical regulations and the sacred canons, and nominated a certain number of Cardinals of the Propaganda to convene and discuss this matter which was fraught with such importance for the whole Catholic Church. By a decree emanating from this Congregation, of date July 12, 1789, it was decided by them and the Pope, who had approved it, that all the priests who then lawfully exercised the sacred ministry and had the care of souls in the United States of America should be authorized to convene, consult and together determine :

1. In what city the episcopal see should be erected.

2. Who among the priests seemed to them the most worthy and most fitting to be promoted to such an important charge, the said privilege being granted for this time only and as a special favor and concession of the Holy See, to elect and present a subject for the episcopate. In pursuance of this decree, and in obedience to its commands the above mentioned priests having the care of souls in the United States of America agreed unanimously that a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction should be located in the city of Baltimore, because this city, situated in Maryland where most of

de la Catholicité qui ne s'étoit propagée dans les autres états qu'en partant de Baltimore et des autres villes et contrées du Maryland.

L'assemblée du clergé se tint selon les règles ecclésiastiques. La convocation fut faite d'une manière canonique ; le jour assigné les prêtres étant réunis, le sacrifice de la messe ayant été célébré, la grâce et le secours du Saint-Esprit ayant été invoqué, on recueillit les suffrages de tous ceux qui étoient présents, et nous en avons le résultat. On envoya l'acte authentique de cette assemblée et élection à la Congrégation de la Propagande. Toutes choses y ayant été pesées, mûrement considérées, il fut décidé et convenu, qu'il étoit de l'intérêt de la Religion Catholique, et qu'on contribueroit beaucoup à sa propagation, si l'on érigeoit un siège épiscopal à Baltimore, et le dit Jean Carroll fut nommé et confirmé évêque de Baltimore et de tous les États Unis.

Le pape dans sa bulle dont nous tirons ces particularités, après en avoir donné d'abord le résultat, s'exprime ainsi : En conséquence, Nous, qui ce jugement et décision de la Congrégation a été présenté par notre bien aimé le Cardinal Antonelly, Préfet de la dite Congrégation, n'ayant rien plus à cœur que d'assurer le succès de ce qui tend évidemment à la propagation de la vraie Religion, à l'honneur et accroissement de l'Église catholique, par la plénitude de notre pouvoir apostolique et par la teneur de ces présentes nous établissons et érigeons la sus-dite ville de Baltimore en siège épiscopal et pour toujours pour un Evêque qui sera choisi par Nous dans tout cas de vacance de ce siège, et Nous donc, par l'autorité apostolique ci-dessus, permettons, accordons, approuvons que l'Evêque de la dite ville et tous ses successeurs à l'avenir exercent le pouvoir et la juridiction épiscopale, jouissent et usent de tout droit et privilège d'ordre et de juridiction et de

the priests and the Catholics were to be found, seemed the most suitable place for communication with other states ; and besides, Maryland was regarded as the source whence Catholicism emanating from Baltimore and the other towns and settlements within its borders had been propagated.¹³

The meeting of the clergy was held according to ecclesiastical rules. The convocation was made in a canonical manner. On the appointed day the priests having assembled, after the celebration of Mass and the invocation of the Holy Ghost for grace and assistance, the votes of all those present were collected, and we know the result. An authentic copy of the proceedings of this assembly and the election was forwarded to the Congregation of the Propaganda. Everything having been duly considered, it was decided and agreed that it was desirable in the interest of the Catholic religion and its further propagation that an episcopal see should be erected at Baltimore and the said John Carroll was nominated and confirmed Bishop of Baltimore and the United States.

In the Bull from which we have gathered these details, after having first noted the result, the Pope thus expressed himself : We, therefore, to whom this decision of the Congregation has been presented by our beloved son, Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the said Congregation, having nothing more at heart than to ensure success to whatever actually tends to the propagation of the true religion, and to the honor and increase of the Catholic Church, by the plenitude of our Apostolic power, and by the tenor of these presents, do establish and erect the aforesaid city of Baltimore into an episcopal see forever, for a Bishop to be chosen by us in all future vacancies ; and We, therefore, by the Apostolic authority aforesaid, do allow, grant and permit to the Bishop of the said city and to his successors in all

toute autre fonction épiscopale; que les Evêques établis en d'autres lieux sont autorisés à posséder et à jouir dans leurs églises respectives, villes et diocèses, par droit, par coutume, ou autres moyens légitimes, par privilèges universels, grâces, indults et dispenses apostoliques ; et de même de toutes les prééminentes honneurs, immunités, grâces et faveurs que d'autres églises cathédrales, par droit ou par usage ou de quelque autre manière, ont, tiennent et jouissent.

Nous décrétons de plus et déclarons le dit siège épiscopal ainsi érigé n'être sujet et suffragant à aucun pouvoir et juridiction métropolitaine, excepté et pour toujours sujet immédiatement à Nous et à Nos successeurs Pontifes Romains et à ce Siège Apostolique; et jusqu'à ce qu'une autre occasion se présente d'établir d'autres Evêques catholiques dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, jusqu'à ce que d'autres dispositions ayant été faites par ce Siège apostolique, Nous déclarons, par notre autorité apostolique, tous les fidèles de J.-C. vivant dans la communion catholique, ainsi que tous les ecclésiastique, séculiers et réguliers, tout le clergé et le peuple fidèle vivant dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, quoi qu'ils aient été jusqu'ici ou qu'ils aient pu jusqu'ici être soumis à d'autres évêques, d'autres diocèses, être dorénavant, soumis à l'évêque de Baltimore, et pour toujours à l'avenir, Nous accordons à cet évêque et à ses successeurs le pouvoir de réprimer et punir sans appel toutes personnes qui pourroient contredire ou s'opposer à ses ordres ; de visiter personnellement ou par député de légation toutes les églises catholiques, de réprimer les abus, de corriger les mœurs des fidèles et de faire toute autre chose que les autres évêques dans leurs diocèses respectifs ont accoutumé de faire et de pouvoir faire, sauf en tout Notre autorité et celle du Siège Apostolique.

future times, to exercise episcopal power and jurisdiction, and other episcopal functions which Bishops constituted in other places are empowered to hold and enjoy in their respective churches, cities and dioceses, by right, custom, or by other means, by general privileges, graces, indults, and apostolic dispensations, together with all pre-eminences, honors, immunities, graces and favors, which other Cathedral Churches, by right or custom, or any other manner, have, hold, and enjoy. We moreover decree and declare the said episcopal see thus erected to be subject or suffragan to no Metropolitan right or jurisdiction, but to be forever subject immediately to Us and to our successors the Roman Pontiffs, and to this Apostolic See ; and until another opportunity shall be presented to Us of establishing other Catholic Bishops in the United States of America, and until other dispositions shall have been made by this Apostolic See, We declare, by our Apostolic authority all the faithful of Jesus Christ, living in the Catholic communion, as well as ecclesiastics both secular and regular and all the clergy and faithful dwelling in the aforesaid United States of America, though they may have hitherto been subject to other Bishops of other dioceses, to be henceforward subject to the Bishop of Baltimore. And We grant for all future time to the said Bishop and his successors the power to repress and punish without appeal all persons who may contradict or set themselves in opposition to his commands ; to visit in person or by deputy of delegation all the Catholic churches, to repress abuses, to correct the morals of the faithful, and to do or cause to be done whatsoever other Bishops in their respective dioceses are wont to do, subject to Our authority and that of the Apostolic See.

And whereas by special grant and favor for this time only, we have allowed the priests exercising the care of

Et comme par une grâce spéciale, et pour cette fois seulement, nous avons permis aux prêtres exerçant la charge d'âmes dans les États Unis d'Amérique d'élire une personne pour être nommée évêque par nous, et que presque toutes les voix ont été données à notre fils bien aimé, Jean Carroll, prêtre; Nous étant d'ailleurs assuré de sa foi, de sa prudence, de sa piété, de son zèle, d'autant plus que conséquemment à notre mandat il a durant plusieurs années précédentes dirigé le gouvernement spirituel des âmes, Nous donc par la plénitude de notre pouvoir, déclarons, créons, nommons, et constituons le dit Jean Carroll évêque et pasteur de la dite église de Baltimore, lui accordant la permission de recevoir la cérémonie de la consécration de quelqu'évêque catholique que ce soit, tenant la communion avec le Siège Apostolique, assisté par deux ecclésiastiques revêtus de quelque dignité en cas qu'on ne puisse trouver deux évêques; le premier ayant fait le serment accoutumé, conformément au Pontifical Romain, et Nous donnons commission au dit Evêque élu, d'ériger une église dans la dite ville de Baltimore, en forme d'église cathédrale tout autant que le tems et les circonstances pourront le permettre, d'instituer un corps de clergé destiné à l'office divin et canonical et au service de la dite église; et de plus d'établir un séminaire épiscopal soit dans la même ville ou ailleurs, comme il le jugera plus convenable, d'administrer les biens et revenus ecclésiastiques et d'exécuter toute autre chose qu'il jugera devant Dieu propre à procurer l'accroissement de la foi catholique et l'augmentation du culte, et la gloire de l'église nouvellement établie.

Nous enjoignons de plus au dit évêque d'obéir aux ordres de nos vénérables frères les Cardinaux directeurs de la Sacrée Congrégation de *Propaganda Fide* pour leur transmettre, dans le tems convenable, une Relation

souls in the United States of America, to elect a person to be nominated Bishop by Us, and almost all the votes have been given to our beloved son, John Carroll, priest: We being otherwise certified of his faith, prudence, piety and zeal; forasmuch as by our mandate he hath for many years past directed the spiritual government of souls, do therefore by the plenitude of our authority, declare, create, nominate and constitute the said John Carroll, Bishop and Pastor of the said Church of Baltimore, granting to him the faculty of receiving the rite of consecration from any Catholic bishop holding communion with the Apostolic See, assisted by two ecclesiastics vested with some dignity, in case that two bishops cannot be had, first having taken the usual oath according to the Roman Pontifical.

And We commission the said Bishop to erect a church in the said City of Baltimore, in form of a Cathedral Church, inasmuch as the times and circumstances may allow, to institute a body of clergy especially designated for the divine and canonical office and the service of the said church, and moreover to establish an episcopal seminary wherever he may deem it convenient, to administer ecclesiastical funds and revenues, and to execute whatsoever he shall think in the Lord to be expedient for the increase of Catholic faith and the augmentation of the worship and splendor of the newly erected church. We moreover enjoin the said Bishop to obey the injunctions of our venerable brethren, the Cardinal Directors of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, to transmit to them at convenient times a Relation and Report of the state of his church, and to inform them of all things which he shall judge to be useful to the spiritual good and salvation of the flock entrusted to his charge.

et Rapport de la visée de son église et les informer de tout ce qu'il jugera d'être utile au bien spirituel et au salut du troupeau confié à ses soins.

Nous ordonnons donc que ces lettres présentes soient dans toute leur force, efficacité et valeur, qu'elles obtiennent leur plein et entier effet, qu'elles soient observées inviolablement par ceux qui maintenant les intéressent et les intéresseront dans la suite; et que tous les juges ordinaires et délégués, même auditeurs des causes du Sacré Palais Apostolique et les Cardinaux de la Ste Eglise Romaine, doivent ainsi juger et définir, privant tous et chacun d'eux de tout pouvoir et autorité pour juger ou interpréter en toute manière; et déclarant le tout nul et invalide, si quelqu'un, par quelque autorité que ce soit, présuinoit ou avec connoissance ou sans connoissance d'essayer de faire contraire à ce que est contenu dans ces lettres présentes; nonobstant toutes constitutions et ordonnances générales ou particulières publiées dans les Conciles Universels, Provinciaux et Synodaux et tout autre chose contraire.

Cette Bulle fut donnée à Rome, à Ste Marie Majeure, sous le sceau du Pêcheur, le six novembre 1789, l'an quinzisième du Pontificat de Pie VI, signée par le Cardinal Braschi Onesti. Elle est authentique, la copie dont nous venons de faire l'extrait, puisqu'elle a été imprimée sous les yeux de M. Carroll, évêque de Baltimore, en 1791, par Carey et Stewart associés, et donnée comme fidèlement traduite de l'original latin. Nous la donnerons nous-même en françois en tems et lieu; traduite sur l'exemplaire ci-dessus imprimé en anglois avec d'autres pièces justificatives dont nous ferons une petite collection.

We therefore decree that these Our letters are and ever shall be in full force, valid and effective and that they shall retain their full and complete effect, that they be inviolably observed by all those whom they now or hereafter concern, and that all judges ordinary or delegated, even auditors of causes of the Sacred Apostolic Palace and Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, must thus judge and define, depriving all and each of them of all power and authority to judge or interpret in any other manner, and declaring to be null and void, if any one, by any authority whatsoever, should presume to, notwithstanding all apostolic, general, or special constitutions or ordinances published in universal, provincial and synodal councils, and all things contrary whatsoever.

This Bull was given at Rome at St. Mary Major's, under the seal of the Fisherman, the sixth day of November, 1789, and in the fifteenth year of the Pontificate of Pius VI, signed by Cardinal Braschi Onesti. The copy from which we have made this extract is authentic since it was printed under the supervision of Mr. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, by Carey & Stewart Company, and is a faithful translation from the original Latin. We shall render it into French in due season translated from the above transcription in English, together with other documents of which we intend to make a little collection.¹⁴

CONSÉCRATION ÉPISCOPALE DE M. JEAN CARROLL

M. Jean Carroll, après la réception de ses Bulles de Rome, se disposa à partir et partit immédiatement pour l'Angleterre où sa personne et ses mérites étoient connus depuis longtems. Il se présenta pour la consécration au Révérendissime Docteur Charles Whalmesley, évêque de Rama, le plus ancien évêque vicaire apostolique de la Religion Catholique en Angleterre. On connoit sans doute en France cet illustre personnage mort depuis très peu de tems, et qui venoit alors de donner au public, sous le nom déguisé de Pastorini, sa fameuse explication de l'Apocalypse, qui a éclipsé toutes les explications données auparavant dans la chrétienté, même en France. Il étoit membre des plus fameuses académies et il est aisé de le reconnaître dans la pureté et l'élégance de son style, dans la force du raisonnement, dans ses preuves pleines d'érudition et dans tout ce qui peut rendre un ouvrage estimable aux yeux du public éclairé et savant dans les Écritures et dans l'Histoire ecclésiastique. Plein de zèle pour la religion et d'amour pour la vérité, il n'a pas dissimulé dans son ouvrage les persécutions des Anglois contre les catholiques et en particulier contre les Irlandois. Il étoit particulièrement reconnu sous ce rapport et sous plusieurs autres de M. Jean Carroll qui le regardoit comme son ami et son père. M. Whalmesley ne refusa donc pas la demande de M. Carroll, et il se fit un plaisir de présider à la cérémonie de sa consécration épiscopale, se flattant avec raison, que les liens de l'amitié qui les unissoient

EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OF MR. JOHN CARROLL

Mr. John Carroll, after the receipt of his Bulls from Rome, made ready to leave, and set out immediately for England where both he himself and his attainments had long been known. He presented himself for consecration to the Right Reverend Charles Whalmesley [Walmesley], Bishop of Rama and senior Vicar-Apostolic of England. Without doubt this eminent personage — who died only recently — is known in France. He had just published under the assumed name of Pastorini a famous exposition of the Apocalypse, superior to anything hitherto known to Christendom, even in France. He was a member of several learned societies and is easily recognized by the lucidity and elegance of his style, force of argument, erudite demonstrations and everything that could render a work valuable in public estimation. He was deeply versed in Scripture and Ecclesiastical History. Full of zeal and indefatigable in the cause of truth, he did not minimize in his work the severity of English persecutions of Catholics and especially of the Irish. Mr. Carroll who regarded him as a friend and a father was fully aware of his many eminent qualities. Hence Mr. Whalmesley [Walmesley] readily acceded to Mr. Carroll's request to preside at his episcopal consecration, hoping naturally that the bonds of friendship so long existing between them would be more closely drawn and by presiding at his consecration a fatherly relationship would result to supplement

depuis longtems en deviendroient plus étroits; et qu'en faisant cette consécration il acquéreroit denouveau la qualité de père envers lui qu'il avoit déjà par d'autres titres (M. Carroll en notre présence l'appelloit ainsi).

Le Château de Ludworth et sa belle chapelle furent désignés pour le lieu de sa consécration, et le lord Ludworth, dont la famille est si respectable en Angleterre et surtout aux catholiques de par leur attachement inviolable à la religion de leurs pères, se fit un honneur du choix qu'on avoit fait de sa maison et de sa chapelle pour cette auguste cérémonie. Il n'omit rien de tout ce qui pouvait la rendre plus auguste par la manière libérale et magnifique dont il usa en cette circonstance; et ce fut le quinze d'août, jour de l'Assomption de la Ste Vierge en 1790, qu'elle se fit. M. Carroll avoit choisi ce jour spécialement pour se mettre sous la protection de la Ste Vierge; et sa dévotion envers la mère de Dieu l'a porté ensuite pour renouveler la mémoire de sa consécration épiscopale et des grâces particulières obtenues en ce jour par sa médiation et en attirer de nouvelles sur lui et son diocèse, à établir à jamais la fête de l'Assomption comme fête patronale du diocèse des États-Unis avec de très grandes indulgences qu'il a obtenues pour ce jour-là du Souverain Pontife.

Revenons à la cérémonie.

Elle se fit avec toute la pompe, la modestie, et la piété convenable, un grand nombre de prêtres et d'autres clercs y assistèrent. La beauté et la richesse des ornements, la musique du chœur bien choisie, le grand nombre de cierges allumés, les magnifiques ornements de l'autel, tout concouroit à ranimer la foi et la piété des assistans. Lorsque tout le monde fut assemblé et assis, un des prêtres assistans fit un discours très éloquent. C'étoit un jésuite pieux et savant qui sut profiter de la circonstance pour exciter la foi des assistans

the other ties. Mr. Carroll so expressed himself in our presence.¹⁶

Ludworth [Lulworth] castle and its beautiful chapel were designated as the place of consecration and Lord Ludworth [Mr. Weld] whose family are so highly respected in England, notably by Catholics on account of their unswerving attachment to the faith of their fathers, felt highly honored that his house and chapel had been chosen for this august ceremony. His generosity left nothing undone that could possibly add dignity to the event which took place on August 15, Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, 1790. Mr. Carroll had chosen this day particularly in order to place himself under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, and his devotion to the Mother of God prompted him, as a memorial of his consecration, and other graces received through her mediation and as an earnest of new favors to establish in perpetuity the Feast of the Assumption as the patronal feast of the Diocese of the United States, to which, for this day, are attached great indulgences obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff.

The ceremony of consecration was carried out with the greatest possible solemnity, in the presence of a large number of priests and other clerics. The beauty and richness of the vestments, the special music by the choir, the large number of flaming tapers, and the decorations of the altar helped to enliven the faith and devotion of those who attended. When all were assembled and seated a learned and pious Jesuit preached a most elequent sermon. He availed of the occasion to reanimate the faith of the congregation by dwelling upon the conquests which the Church had already made and was destined to make throughout the world, urging them to preserve inviolably their attachment to the Holy See which is the center of unity and ecclesiastical authority. As the chapel was dedicated to the

sur l'église de J. C. et sur les conquêtes qu'elle a toujours faites et qu'elle ne cessera de faire dans le monde, et renouveler leur attachement inviolable au Siège Apostolique, le centre de l'unité, le centre de l'autorité ecclésiastique; la chapelle étant dédiée à la Sainte Vierge et le jour consacré en son honneur, il ne manqua pas de publier les louanges de Marie, d'exciter à la dévotion envers elle, et d'animer ses auditeurs à une confiance filiale en sa protection maternelle.

M. Carroll a conservé la mémoire de cette consécration et des grâces qu'il y reçut avec un cœur bien reconnoissant envers Dieu et envers la Sainte Vierge. Nous en avons vu déjà la preuve, et il m'en a parlé à moi-même de la manière la plus affectueuse plusieurs années après. Il n'a pas été moins reconnoissant envers le lord Ludworth, ayant fait graver à ses dépens son château et sa chapelle qu'il s'est empressé de me faire voir à mon arrivée en Amérique, avec un air de dévotion, se rappelant alors sa consécration épiscopale et ses devoirs, et avec des marques d'estime et d'attachement à cette famille catholique sur laquelle il ne cessait de me raconter tout ce qui doit la rendre estimable aux yeux de Dieu et de notre sainte religion.

Blessed Virgin and the day consecrated to devotion to her, he did not fail to proclaim the glories of Mary, and exhort his hearers to have filial confidence in her maternal protection.¹⁶

Mr. Carroll ever gratefully treasured the memory of this consecration and the signal graces he had received from God and the Blessed Virgin. We have already had proof of this, and he often spoke to me most feelingly of the event, years afterwards. To show his gratitude to Lord Ludworth [Mr. Weld] he had his castle and chapel engraven at his own expense, and on my arrival in America he showed me a copy as he tenderly recalled to mind his consecration and his duties, at the same time giving expression to his esteem and affection for that Catholic family, and repeatedly told me of the many estimable things they had done for God and our holy religion.¹⁷

ÉTABLISSEMENT DU SÉMINAIRE DE ST-SULPICE A BALTIMORE

Voici l'occasion de cet établissement et la manière dont cette œuvre si excellente s'est faite à l'avantage de la religion et à la plus grande gloire de Dieu. Monsieur de St-Félix, supérieur du Séminaire de Saint Sulpice à Toulouse, ayant su ce qui se passoit en Amérique par rapport à l'érection d'un Siège épiscopal, et que M. Carroll étoit en Angleterre pour recevoir sa consécration épiscopale, écrivit là-dessus à monsieur Emery, supérieur du Séminaire de St-Sulpice à Paris et Supérieur Général de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice, et lui dit qu'il lui étoit venu dans l'idée qu'on pouvoit établir un séminaire de St-Sulpice dans un pays étranger mais sans déterminer aucun lieu pour cet établissement ; il ajouta que la Providence paroîsoit ménager cette occasion pour assurer à la Compagnie sa conservation et la continuation de ses fonctions ; car les choses dans ce tems là par rapport à la religion dévenoient plus allarmantes et l'on voyait déjà qu'on ne pouvait échapper à la persécution qui avoit déjà commencé contre la religion et contre le clergé de France en 1790. M. Emery fut très satisfait de cette idée et la communiqua à ses confrères du même séminaire, et elle leur plut également. Monsieur Emery, à qui M. Nagot proposa d'élire M. de St-Félix supérieur pour cet établissement, écrit à ce dernier pour l'inviter à se charger lui-même de l'entreprise, ce que M. Félix refusa constamment par modestie et se défiant trop de ses talens et de ses forces. Il fallut en nommer un autre à sa place et le choix tomba sur M.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEMINARY OF ST. SULPICE IN BALTIMORE

The circumstances which gave rise to this institution destined to promote the interests of religion and the greater glory of God and the means by which it was established are as follows : Mr. de St. Felix, Superior of St. Sulpice at Toulouse, who was aware of what was being done in America regarding the erection of an episcopal seminary, and knowing that Mr. Carroll was in England to receive episcopal consecration, wrote to Mr. Emery, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris, and Superior-General of the Company of St. Sulpice, stating that he had an idea that a Seminary of St. Sulpice could be established in a foreign country, but he did not specify the place for the establishment. He added that Providence seemed to provide this opportunity to ensure the existence of the Company and enable it to continue its work, since there were serious indications that the interests of religion were imperilled, and that it would be impossible to escape the persecution of religion and the clergy of France which had already begun in 1790. Mr. Emery approved the plan and communicated it to his associates at the Seminary, who were equally pleased with it. Mr. Emery, to whom Mr. Nagot suggested the appointment of Mr. de St. Felix as superior of this establishment, wrote to the latter inviting him to take charge of the enterprise, but Mr. de St. Felix modestly refused to accept it, pleading lack of ability and strength.

It was necessary to nominate somebody else, and Mr. Nagot, then director, or vice-superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, was chosen for the position.

Nagot alors directeur du, ou vice-supérieur du Séminaire de St-Sulpice de Paris.

Pour ce qui regarde le lieu de cet établissement, M. de St-Félix ne l'avoit point désigné. M. Galais, supérieur de la petite communauté de St-Sulpice à Paris, proposa à M. Emery de faire cet établissement à Gallipolis où plusieurs familles françaises venoient d'arriver ; et M. Dugnami, nonce du pape alors en France et Cardinal, lui parla de l'érection d'un nouvel évêché à Baltimore et l'engagea à établir un séminaire dans les États Unis.

Quoique M. Nagot fut d'un âge assez avancé, son zèle pour le salut des âmes l'engagea à entrer dans cette noble entreprise et pour la commencer il fit un voyage à Londres, en Angleterre, où il espéroit trouver M. Carroll, et s'entretenir avec lui sur le dessein des Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice et sur la manière de l'exécuter. Ce voyage se fit très heureusement ; M. Carroll, à la première proposition qui lui fut faite, bénit la Providence de lui avoir fourni le moyen de remplir les vues du St-Père et les siennes propres dans un établissement aussi nécessaire dans son diocèse que celui d'un séminaire. Mais il ajouta qu'il n'avoit à offrir pour cela que sa bonne volonté, et qu'il falloit que les Messieurs de St-Sulpice se chargeassent des frais du voyage et de toute l'entreprise, mais qu'il devoit avoir une grande confiance en la Providence de Dieu dont la sainte volonté se montrait sur cet objet d'une manière si visible.

M. Nagot retourna à Paris, et la Providence ayant fourni des moyens inattendus pour les frais du voyage et les commencements d'un séminaire à établir, on écrivit à M. Carroll qu'on étoit déterminé à commencer cette entreprise le plus tôt possible.

M. Emery pensa alors à choisir des sujets pour accompagner M. Nagot et l'aider dans une si belle œuvre. Ceux-ci obéirent sans différer aux invitations de leur

As regards the place for this establishment, Mr. de St. Felix had not designated it. Mr. Galais, superior of the little community of St. Sulpice, in Paris, suggested to Mr. Emery that the institution should be founded at Gallipolis where several French families had recently settled. But the Papal Nuncio in France, Cardinal Dugnani, spoke to him of the erection of a new bishopric at Baltimore, and urged him to establish a seminary in the United States.¹⁴

Though Mr. Nagot was rather old, his zeal for the salvation of souls impelled him to engage in this noble enterprise, and as a preliminary step, he journeyed to London, England, to meet Mr. Carroll and confer with him regarding the scheme of the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice and the plan of putting it into effect. The journey ended happily. Mr. Carroll at the first proposal made to him thanked Providence for having provided him with the means of carrying out the views of the Holy Father and his own, by being enabled to provide his diocese with such an institution as a seminary ; he added that he had nothing to offer in return but his good will and that the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice would be obliged to furnish the expenses of the journey and the whole installation, but he had great confidence in the Providence of God whose Holy Will manifested itself so visibly in the matter.¹⁵

Mr. Nagot returned to Paris and Providence having unexpectedly provided the wherewithal to defray the expenses of the journey and the beginnings of a seminary, wrote to Mr. Carroll that it had been decided to initiate this enterprise at the earliest possible date. Mr. Emery then began to select candidates to accompany Mr. Nagot and aid him in this splendid work. Those chosen promptly responded to the invitation of their superior ; some young men of the seminary, or friends, willingly joined them and they were accepted.

supérieur ; quelques jeunes gens du séminaire ou amis se joignirent à eux de bonne volonté et ils furent reçus.

Les préparatifs ayant été faits assez promptement, ils frêtèrent un navire américain à leurs propres frais et s'embarquèrent à St-Malo au printemps de l'année 1791. Ils arrivèrent à Baltimore le 1er juillet de la même année après une navigation assez longue mais assez heureuse. Voici les noms de ces messieurs : M. Nagot, supérieur, M. Levadoux, ancien directeur du séminaire de Limoges, M. Tessier, ancien directeur du séminaire de Viviers, M. Garnier, ancien directeur du séminaire de Lyon, M. de Lavau, chanoine de Tours, M. Montdésir, séminariste. M. Nagot logea dans la maison de M. l'Évêque et les autres messieurs dans une maison qu'on avoit louée pour eux depuis le mois de mai, rue du Marché.

Ils ne restèrent pas longtemps dans cette maison, ayant saisi la première occasion d'en acheter une autre plus convenable, hors la ville. Je dis plus convenable pour eux et pour les séminaristes, y étant dans une espèce de solitude et séparé du monde. C'est celle qu'ils ont actuellement et dont ils ont fait un séminaire, ayant été assez vaste pour y faire des corridors et un nombre suffisant de chambres pour les séminaristes, ainsi que des salles pour l'étude, le réfectoire, les exercices.

On se hâta d'y faire une chapelle au 1er étage où l'on dit la messe le 20 juillet, mais ensuite on en construisit une autre au rez de chaussée à côté de la salle des exercices, beaucoup plus décente quoique très petite ; dans l'une et dans l'autre on y garde toujours le St Sacrement. Cette dernière subsiste encore, et subsistera jusqu'à nouvel ordre. Elle est dédiée à la Sainte Vierge.

Le 29 mars 1792, MM. Chicomeau, David et Flaget, tous directeurs des différents séminaires de St-Sulpice, arrivèrent de France avec deux jeunes étudiants, MM.

Having made their preparations hurriedly, they chartered an American vessel at their own expense, and sailed from St. Malo in the Spring of the year 1791.²⁰

They reached Baltimore on July 10, after a long but fairly prosperous voyage. Those who came were : Mr. Nagot, superior, Mr. Levadoux, a former director of the Seminary of Limoges, M. Tessier, a former director of Vivier, Mr. Garnier, a former director of the Seminary of Lyons, Mr. de Lavau, canon of Tours, Mr. Mont-désir, a seminarian. Mr. Nagot took up his residence at the Bishop's home ; the others were quartered in a house on Market Street, which had been leased for them since the month of May.

They did not remain long there, as they had seized the first opportunity to buy a place more convenient for themselves and the seminarians in a quiet locality and large enough for corridors and rooms for the seminarians, as well as rooms for study, refectory, exercises, etc. A chapel was hurriedly fitted up on the first floor, where Mass was celebrated on July 20, but later, another chapel was built on the ground floor at the side of the prayer-hall, much more becoming though quite small, in both of which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. The latter still exists and will remain till otherwise ordered. It is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.²¹

On March 29 Messrs. Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, all directors of different Seminaries of St. Sulpice, arrived from France, accompanied by two seminarians, Messrs. Badin and Barrel. They were destined for the Illinois country, but some of them remained at the Baltimore Seminary.²²

Mr. David went to an English mission, Messrs. Levadoux and Flaget set out for the Illinois country, Mr. Chicoisneau was procurator at the Seminary and Mr. Badin was a candidate for holy orders. On June 24 of

Badin et Barrel ; leur mission étoit pour les Illinois, mais quelques-uns d'eux restèrent au Séminaire de Baltimore.

M. David partit pour une mission anglaise. MM. Levadoux et Flaget partirent pour les Illinois, M. Chicoisneau fut procureur du séminaire et M. Badin séminariste ordinand. Le 24 juin de la même année, MM. Maréchal, Richard, Ciquard et Matignon arrivèrent de France à Baltimore. M. Ciquard, ancien directeur du séminaire de Bourges, alla à Passamaquadi pour les sauvages, près de la Nouvelle Écosse. M. Matignon, docteur de Sorbonne et ancien professeur de la chaire d'Orléans, alla à Boston. M. Maréchal, prêtre de St-Sulpice, ayant reçu la prêtrise peu de tems avant son départ, dit sa première messe à Baltimore. Vers ce même tems M. Richard, nouveau sulpicien, partit pour aller joindre M. Levadoux aux Illinois. Tous ces messieurs de St-Sulpice étoient destinés à travailler à l'œuvre du séminaire, mais en attendant qu'il fût solidement établi, ils s'occupèrent au travail des missions dont nous avons parlé.

Le nombre des séminaristes n'étoit pas grand. C'étoient MM. Montdésir, Badin, Barrel, Floyd, irlandois, Smith, russe, Mathieu, américain, et quelques autres qui ne persévérèrent pas; cependant l'établissement prenoit beaucoup de solidité du côté du temporel. On avoit acquis auprès de la maison un terrain considérable qui a toujours augmenté en valeur.

M. Chicoisneau partit pour Mont-Réal. M. de Lavau l'année précédente étoit mort assez subitement. Mais cette perte fut réparée par M. Flaget arrivé des Illinois. M. du Bourg s'aggrégea à notre compagnie. Ces deux derniers, auxquels s'est réuni M. Babad, directeur du séminaire d'Angers, fondèrent ensuite un Collège à Baltimore, nommé le Collège de Ste-Marie. C'est ce collège qui existe encore avec la plus grande

the same year Messrs. Maréchal, Richard, Ciquard, and Matignon arrived at Baltimore, from France. Mr. Ciquard, a former director of the Seminary of Bourges, went to Passamaquoddy, near Nova Scotia, as missionary to the Indians.²² Mr. Matignon, doctor of the Sorbonne and formerly professor of pulpit oratory at Orleans, went to Boston. Mr. Maréchal, priest of St. Sulpice, who had been ordained shortly before his departure, said his first mass in Baltimore. About the same time, Mr. Richard, a recent Sulpician, set out for the Illinois country to join Mr. Levadoux. All these Gentlemen of St. Sulpice were intended for work at the seminary but, pending its establishment on a firm basis, they were employed in the missions above mentioned.

The number of seminarians was not large, being represented by Messrs Montdésir, Badin, Barrel, Floyd (an Irishman), Smith (a Russian), Mathews, an American, and some others who did not persevere ; yet, from a material standpoint the institution was becoming firmly established, as a large property adjoining the seminary had been secured, which was steadily increasing in value.

Mr. Chicoisneau left for Montreal, Mr. de Lavau had died rather suddenly the year before ; but those losses were retrieved by the arrival of Mr. Flaget from the Illinois country and the accession of Mr. Du Bourg to the Company. The last two with whom was associated Mr. Babad, director of the Seminary of Angers, founded St. Mary's College. This is the College built on a property belonging to the seminary which is still in existence and enjoying great repute. The College belongs to St. Sulpice, and the teachers there having become seminarians, the seminary has acquired greater stability ; the number of seminarians has increased considerably. To place these two insti-

célébrité dans le terrain appartenant au séminaire. Ce collège appartient aussi à St Sulpice et les professeurs étant devenus séminaristes, le séminaire a pris plus de consistance ; le nombre des séminaristes a augmenté considérablement.

Pour perpétuer ces deux établissements du collège et du séminaire, M. Dilhet, ancien directeur de la compagnie, et qui arrivé en Amérique en 1798 avoit travaillé aux missions du Détroit pour les François et pour les sauvages, a établi en 1806, à dix huit lieues de Baltimore, un petit séminaire anglois-allemand qui sera une pépinière de seminaristes et de professeurs pour le séminaire et le collège de Baltimore. Il est auteur du présent ouvrage, et il a laissé les choses dans le meilleur état possible au moment de son départ d'Amérique pour revenir en France. Il se propose de donner dans peu une histoire particulière du séminaire de Baltimore et du Collège de Ste-Marie, comme il a été dit ci-dessus. Il n'en dit donc pas davantage sur cet article.

tutions — seminary and college — on a solid footing, Mr. Dilhet, a former director of the Company, who arrived in America in 1798 and had labored in the French and Indian missions of Detroit, established in 1806, some eighteen leagues from Baltimore, a preparatory Anglo-German seminary which will be a nursery of seminarians and teachers for the seminary and the college of Baltimore. He is the author of the present work. Everything was in the best possible condition when he left America to return to France. He intends to publish shortly a special history of the Baltimore Seminary and of St. Mary's College, as he has already stated. Hence he says nothing further on this subject.²⁴

SYNODE DIOCÉSAIN DE BALTIMORE

Mr. Carroll, évêque des États Unis, a toujours été très fidèle aux engagements qu'il avoit contractés avec le Pape. Il connoissoit ses devoirs et étoit très disposé à les remplir. Mais le Pape dans sa Bulle lui ayant recommandé non seulement l'établissement d'un séminaire, mais la convocation d'un synode diocésain, dès la seconde année de son épiscopat il s'occupa de cette affaire, ou plutôt il s'en occupa dès le commencement, et il ne put achever de surmonter les difficultés sans nombre qui s'y opposoient qu'en octobre 1791. C'est alors, c'est-à-dire le 27 octobre 1791, qu'il envoya ses lettres de convocation dans toute l'étendue de son diocèse, assignant la ville de Baltimore pour ce synode, fixant le 7 novembre pour le 1er jour de ses sessions, et invitant sans exception tous les prêtres de son diocèse ayant charge d'âmes.

Conformément à ses désirs et à sa convocation, le jour marqué ci-dessus se trouvèrent assemblés dans la maison épiscopale, Messieurs : Jacques Pellentz, jésuite allemand, et vicaire général de Mgr l'évêque pour tout le diocèse ; Jacques Frambach, aussi vicaire général ; Robert Molineaux, vicaire général pour les états méridionaux, et jésuite ; François Antoine Flemming, vicaire général pour les états septentrionaux ; François Charles Nagot, supérieur du Séminaire de St-Sulpice de Baltimore ; Jean Ashton, jésuite, curé de Baltimore ; Henry Pile, jésuite ; Léonard Neale, jésuite ; Charles Sewell, jésuite ; Sylvester Bourmann ; Guillaume Elling, allemand ; Jacques von Huffel, hollandois ; Robert Planchette, allemand ; Stanislas Cer-

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF BALTIMORE

Mr. Carroll, Bishop of the United States, was always faithful to his covenanted engagements with the Pope. He knew his duties and was always eager to discharge them. As the Pope in his Bull had recommended not only the establishment of a seminary but also the convening of a diocesan synod, from the second year of his episcopate he gave this matter his attention, or rather it was uppermost in his mind from the beginning, but he could not remove the numerous difficulties which prevented him from doing so until October, 1791. It was then, that is to say, on October 27, 1791, that he issued the official notice of convocation throughout his diocese announcing that the synod should be held in the city of Baltimore, fixing November 7 as the day of the first session, and inviting without exception all the priests of the diocese, who had the care of souls.

Conformably with his desire and convocation, on the above-mentioned date there gathered at the Bishop's house, Messrs. James Pellentz, a German Jesuit and the Bishop's vicar-general for the whole diocese ; James Frambach, also vicar-general ; Robert Molyneux, a Jesuit, and vicar-general of the Southern District ; Francis Anthony Fleming, vicar-general for the Northern States ; Francis Charles Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Baltimore ; John Ashton, a Jesuit, parish priest of Baltimore ; Henry Pile, a Jesuit ; Leonard Neale, a Jesuit ; Charles Sewall, a Jesuit ; Sylvester Boarman ; William Elling, a German ; James van Huffel, a Hollander ; Robert Planchette, a German [Robert Plunkett, an English Jesuit] ; Stanislas Cerfoumont, French-German ;

foumont, françois-allemand ; François Beeston, anglois, jésuite ; Laurent Greesol ; Joseph Edom ; Louis Cahier de Lavau, chanoine de Tours ; Jean Tessier, directeur du séminaire ; Antoine Garnier, directeur du séminaire ; Jean Thayer, américain de Boston.

Étant tous rassemblés et revêtus de surplis, l'évêque étant revêtu du rochet, de l'amict, ceinture, étole, et chappe blanche, ayant la belle mitre, et le bâton pastoral à la main, ils allèrent tous en procession à l'église cathédrale de St-Pierre, dans laquelle toutes choses avoient été préparées et disposées conformément au Pontifical Romain. L'évêque alors prononça un discours éloquent analogue à la circonstance, après laquelle tous firent ensemble leur profession de foi. MM. Leonard, Neale et Guillaume Elling furent nommés promoteurs, M. François Beeston, secrétaire. Cette session dura jusqu'à trois heures après midi. Dans la seconde session on fit des statuts sur le Baptême, sa réitération sous condition, le registre. et la fidélité à écrire les actes, le baptême des adultes ; sur la Confirmation, on n'exigea que l'âge de raison et assez de capacité pour recevoir auparavant le sacrement de Pénitence. Cette session se tint le 8 9bre, le lendemain de la première.

La troisième session eut pour objet le sacrement de l'Eucharistie, et eut lieu ce même jour dans l'après diner ; on y parla et statua sur les choses nécessaires au culte et à la décence pour le Sacrifice de la Messe, sur les offrandes, les marguilliers, les fabriques, l'habit noir pour les ecclésiastiques, et dans toutes leurs fonctions publiques, le surplis et l'étole, la 1ère communion des enfants, &c.

La quatrième session regarde le sacrement de Pénitence, la nécessité de l'approbation pour tout, point de changement de lieu sans la permission

Francis Beeston, an English Jesuit ; Lawrence Greesol [Graessl] ; Joseph Edom [Eden] ; Louis Cahier de Lavau, canon of Tours ; John Tessier, Director of the Seminary ; John Thayer, an American from Boston and Anthony Garnier."

These all having assembled, wearing surplices, the Bishop in rochet, amice, cincture, stole and white cope, having his precious mitre and with crosier in hand, they went in procession to the Cathedral church of St. Peter where everything had been prepared and arranged according to the Roman Pontifical. The Bishop then pronounced an eloquent discourse appropriate to the occasion, after which all made their profession of faith. Messrs. Leonard Neale and William Elling were named promoters, and Mr. Francis Beeston was named secretary. This session lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon. At the second session statutes were adopted regarding Baptism, its repetition under condition, registration, and exactness in making the entries, the baptism of adults ; as to Confirmation, nothing was required except the use of reason and sufficient capacity to receive beforehand the sacrament of penance. This session was held November 8, the day after the first.

The third session dealt with the sacrament of the Eucharist and was held on the same day after dinner. The matters discussed and decreed were the requisites befitting religious functions and the sacrifice of the mass, offerings, trustees, fabrics, black clothing for clerics and the use of surplice and stole in all their public ministrations, the first communion of children, etc.

The fourth session dealt with the sacrament of Penance, the necessity of approbation, and ordered that there should be no changing of place without the Bishop's permission, under penalty of suspension. It was held on November 9. Then there was a discussion regarding the sacrament of Extreme Unction, which

de l'évêque sous peine de suspense. Elle se tint le 9 novembre. Vint ensuite le sacrement de l'Extrême-Onction qu'on doit donner aux enfants lorsqu'ils sont malades s'ils ont atteint l'âge de raison suffisamment pour pécher; le sacrement de Mariage qui doit être précédé de trois publications, suffisante connoissance de la religion pour le recevoir; on exige moins pour les nègres; mais ce Synode marque ce qu'ils doivent savoir pour recevoir les sacrements; mariage des hérétiques avec les Catholiques prohibés; conduite à tenir là-dessus.

Dans la 5ième session assistèrent MM. Beeston et Thayer. On y traita de la manière de chanter les divins offices et de les faire, de l'observation des fêtes, de la fête patronale, l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge, de la conduite et des mœurs des ecclésiastiques, de la manière de fournir à l'entretien des prêtres et du culte, des sacrements à administrer aux mourants, et de la sépulture ecclésiastique.

M. l'Évêque proposa d'écrire au Pape pour l'érection d'un nouvel évêché suffragant de Baltimore, ou d'un coadjuteur, ce qui fut consenti, et M. Ashton termina la session par un sermon. Enfin on chanta le *Te Deum*.

Les actes de ce synode furent envoyés au plus tôt au Pape par M. l'Évêque de Baltimore pour obtenir son approbation. En même temps M. l'Évêque demanda au Pape un évêque coadjuteur ou suffragant, des pouvoirs extraordinaires pour plusieurs cas qui n'avoient pas été prévus, le pouvoir d'accorder des indulgences de différentes sortes pour exciter la dévotion des fidèles. Le Pape répondit favorablement à toutes ces démarches; l'évêque coadjuteur fut accordé, et ce fut M. Léonard Neale qui fut nommé et consacré évêque *in partibus infidelium* de Gortigna en Crète; le pouvoir de légat fut accordé à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore avec des pouvoirs extraordinaires; bientôt après le

should be administered to children when they are sick if they have attained the age when they can commit sin; the sacrament of Matrimony, which must be preceded by three publications [of the bans], sufficient knowledge of religion to receive it; less is required of the negroes (than of the whites), and the Synod lays down what they must know in order to receive the sacraments; mixed marriages are prohibited; the procedure to be followed in such cases.

Messrs. Bolton and Thayer attended the fifth session. The matters discussed were: the manner of singing and performing the divine offices, the observance of holydays, the patronal feast, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, ecclesiastical behavior and morals, how priests should be supported; worship; the sacraments to be administered to the dying; ecclesiastical burial. The Bishop proposed that the question of the erection of a new bishopric, or a coadjutor, be submitted to the Pope. This was agreed to; and Mr. Ashton closed the session with a sermon, after which the *Te Deum* was sung.²⁶

The proceedings of the Synod were sent to the Pope by the Bishop of Baltimore, for his approbation. At the same time the Bishop asked the Pope for a coadjutor, or a suffragan bishop, and extraordinary faculties for several cases for which no provision had been made and the faculty of granting various indulgences to stimulate popular devotion. The Pope gave favorable answer to all requests; a coadjutor bishop was granted; Mr. Leonard Neale received the nomination, and he was consecrated Bishop of Gortigna, in Crete, *in partibus infidelium*.²⁷ The Bishop of Baltimore was named legate with extraordinary faculties; and shortly afterwards was granted the right of a Metropolitan and the power of establishing a Metropolitan See for the benefit of United States whenever he might deem it desirable.

droit de Métropolitain et de constituer lui-même une métropole, lorsqu'il le jugeroit convenable pour le bien des États Unis. Toutes les grâces des indulgences demandées furent accordées et au delà. Eh ! comment le Pape auroit-il pu refuser des grâces, se restreindre dans ses dons à l'égard d'un évêque si soumis au St-Siège, si zélé pour la gloire de la religion, et si propre à la faire aimer ? Nous n'irons pas plus loin dans l'histoire de l'église de Baltimore. Nous nous proposons de donner plutôt un état qu'une histoire de ce pays ainsi que des établissements ; et nous allons commencer par le Maryland et la ville de Baltimore.

All the favors and the indulgences asked for were granted and more besides. How, indeed, could the Pope refuse favors or restrict his bounty in the case of a bishop so devoted to the Holy See, so zealous in the cause of religion and so competent to make it loved? We shall not go further into the history of the Church of Baltimore. We propose preferably to give an account rather than a history of this country as well as of the institutions; and we are going to begin with Maryland and the City of Baltimore.

LE MARYLAND

Le Maryland, un des anciens États Unis de l'Amérique, placé entre le 37ième et le 39ième degré de latitude nord, et entre les 75e et 80e de longitude est, a environ cinquante lieues de longueur sur 75 en largeur. Il contient 5,000 lieues quarrées dont le quart est couvert d'eau ; il est borné au nord par la Pensylvanie, à l'est par l'état de Lawarre et l'océan Atlantique, au sud et à l'ouest par la Virginie ; cet état est divisé en comtés comme tous les autres états. Le nombre de ses habitants est calculé à trois cent cinquante mille dont cent dix mille sont nègres.

Chacun des comtés envoie quatre représentants à la chambre des députés de Maryland. La capitale qui est Annapolis en fournit deux, et Baltimore deux aussi. La cité de Washington a été cédée par l'état de Virginie et du Maryland aux États Unis, et établie en 1800, comme le chef-lieu du gouvernement des États Unis. Il y a des montagnes à l'ouest ; le pays est varié par des plaines et des collines au nord. La partie orientale est une plaine continue. Dans les montagnes il y a beaucoup de chanvre et de lin et un peu de coton ; beaucoup de jardins et de vergers abondants en toutes sortes de fruits, des bois de toute espèce partout. Cet état abonde en mines de fer ; on y a construit beaucoup de forges. Chaque plantation dans les pays bas a souvent de dix à quinze maisons, mais point d'étables pour les vaches et autre bétail, point d'écurie pour les chevaux, ce qui les fait souffrir

MARYLAND

Maryland, one of the original United States of America, situated between the 37th and 39th degree of north latitude and between the 75th and the 80th of East [West] longitude, is about fifty leagues in length and 75 in breadth. It contains 5,000 square leagues of which one-fourth are covered with water. It is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, east by the State of Delaware and the Atlantic ocean, south and west by Virginia. It is, like all the other states, divided into counties. It has three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom ten thousand are negroes. Each of the counties sends representatives to the Legislature of Maryland. The Capital, Annapolis, sends two, and Baltimore two also. The City of Washington was ceded by the State of Virginia and by Maryland to the United States and established as the seat of government of the United States in 1800.²⁸ The country is mountainous in the west and varied by hills and level stretches in the north. The eastern portion is a continuous plain. In the mountains are found a good deal of hemp and flax and a little cotton, numerous gardens and orchards abounding in all sorts of fruits ; there are several varieties of trees. The state is rich in iron mines ; and several furnaces have been built there. Every plantation in the low lying lands has from ten

beaucoup en hiver. Les plantations sont considérables et sont de 100 à 1,000 arpents. On y fait beaucoup de whisky, forte liqueur qui vient du seigle. Les habitans dans les campagnes vivent très retirés, étant souvent à plusieurs milles les uns des autres. Du côté de l'est, quoique les plantations soient plus rapprochées, les habitans sont également retirés et se visitent rarement les uns les autres. Les nègres font tout l'ouvrage des terres. Le commerce est très considérable et vient principalement de Baltimore.

Les Romains Catholiques qui s'y sont établis les premiers forment le plus grand nombre respectivement les uns aux autres. On y voit outre cela des protestans, des épiscopaux, des anglois, des écossois, des irlandois, des allemands calvinistes, des Luthériens, des Amis, des Anabaptistes, des Méthodistes, des Mennonistes, des Nicolaïtes ou Nouveaux Quakers, qui tous jouissent de la liberté de conscience pleine et entière.

Les séminaires de science sont le Collège de Ste-Marie ou Université, à Baltimore, érigé en 1804, l'académie ou Collège de Washington dans le comté de Sommerset, établi en 1799, un autre Collège de Washington établi à Chestertown dans le comté de Kent, en 1782, le Collège de St-Jean établi en 1784 ; il doit être à Annapolis où on élève un bâtiment pour cela ; mais tout cela pour ce dernier n'est qu'une idée; le Collège de Georgetown établi par les missionnaires jésuites sur la rivière Patowmac pour l'enseignement d'une littérature universelle, des langues, et de la philosophie, en 1785.

Outre ces collèges il y a une infinité d'écoles primaires dans les villes, dans les villages, dans les campagnes les moins habitées où l'on apprend à lire, à écrire, et à compter.

La législature de cet état est composée de deux chambres, celle du Sénat et celle des Délégués et appe-

to fifteen houses, but there are no sheds for cows or other cattle, no stables for horses, so they suffer badly in winter time. The plantations are important and range from 100 to 1,000 acres. A great deal of whiskey — a strong liquor distilled from rye — is made there. The country folk live a rather lonely life as they are often several miles from one another. On the eastern shore, though the plantations are closer together, the people are equally retiring and rarely visit one another. Negroes do all the farm work. There is a good deal of business which is done largely with Baltimore. Roman Catholics, who were the first to settle there, are relatively in the majority. Besides these there are Protestants, Episcopalians, English, Scotch, Irish, German Calvinists, Lutherans, Friends, Anabaptists, Methodists, Mennonites, Nicolaites or New Quakers all of whom enjoy full and entire liberty of conscience.

The educational establishments are St. Mary's College, or University, in Baltimore, erected in 1804 ; the Academy, or Washington College in the County of Somerset, established in 1799 ; another Washington College at Chestertown in the County of Kent, founded in 1782 ; St. John's College, founded in 1784. This was to be located in Annapolis, where a building is being erected for the purpose ; but this has not been realized ; Georgetown College, founded by Jesuit missionaries in 1785 on the Potomac River, for the teaching of general literature, languages and philosophy.²⁹

Besides these colleges there are numerous primary schools in the towns and villages and in the most sparsely settled rural districts, where reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught. The Legislature of this state is made up of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives, and is called the General Assembly of Maryland. A governor is nominated on the second

lée l'Assemblée Générale du Maryland. Tous les ans, le second lundi de novembre, un gouverneur est nommé et élu par le scrutin des deux chambres ; il ne peut continuer d'être réélu plus de deux fois. Pour la forme du gouvernement, voyez un ouvrage à part de ma composition, pour tous les États Unis.

of November every year and elected by the vote of both Houses. He can be elected only twice.

As regards the form of government consult another special work compiled by me dealing with all the United States.

LA VILLE DE BALTIMORE

Cette ville est la plus grande du Maryland, et plus grande que Boston. Elle est située au bord de la rivière Patapsco à une petite distance de sa jonction avec la Chesapeake. L'entrée du port est défendue par le fort Whestone ou fort Henry très à portée du canon et du fusil sur tout bâtiment qui voudroit entrer dans la rivière par force. Du cap Henry où est l'embouchure de la Chesapeake jusqu'à Baltimore on compte 160 milles, c. a. d. 53 lieues. La ville est bâtie autour de ce qu'on appelle le Bassin, un des plus beaux de l'Amérique. On la divise en deux, la ville proprement dite, et la Pointe Fell. Ces deux parties sont séparées l'une de l'autre par une petite rivière sur laquelle il y a deux ponts. Dans le Bassin l'eau n'a que six pieds de profondeur devant la ville, devant la Pointe elle est assez profonde pour des vaisseaux de plusieurs cents tonneaux.

La Pointe est dans un terrain très bas qui a été d'abord malsain ; mais les canaux qui entrent dans les rues ont desséché les marais, et cette ville est maintenant des plus saines des États Unis. Elle contient dans sa plus petite enceinte près de trois mille maisons dont les deux tiers sont dans la ville, l'autre tiers à la Pointe. Les habitants sont de trente à quarante mille. L'enceinte est encore d'une plus grande étendue et peut avoir deux lieues de largeur. Il y a dans cette enceinte beaucoup de maisons jusqu'aux barrières qui déterminent les limites de la ville.

Il y a vingt-cinq ans qu'on ne connoissoit pas Baltimore, parce qu'elle n'existoit pas. Dans quinze ans

THE CITY OF BALTIMORE

This city is the largest in Maryland, and larger than Boston. It is situated on the bank of the Patapsco River near its junction with the Chesapeake. The entrance to the harbour is guarded by Fort Whestone or Fort Henry within gunshot of any vessel that might try to force an entry into the river. The distance from Fort Henry (at the mouth of the Chesapeake) to Baltimore is reckoned at 160 miles, that is, 53 leagues. The city is built around what is called the Basin, the finest of its kind in America. The city is divided into two sections — the city proper and Fell's Point. These two sections are separated by a small stream spanned by two bridges. The water is only six feet deep in front of the city, but off the Point, it is deep enough for vessels of several hundred tons.

The Point is a stretch of low-lying land which was formerly unhealthy ; but canals cut through the streets have drained the marshes and the city is now one of the healthiest in the United States. It has within its narrowest limits nearly three thousand houses, two-thirds of which are within the city proper, the other third, at the Point. The residents are reckoned from thirty to forty thousand. The outer section is of greater extent and is possibly two leagues broad. Within this outer section there are many houses, extending to the barriers which determine the city limits.

Twenty-five years ago Baltimore was unknown, because it did not exist. Within fifteen years it has

elle a accru de la moitié et le progrès est toujours d'une rapidité incroyable ainsi que ses établissemens et les ouvrages publics. A quelque distance de la ville on vient d'établir des pompes à feu qui fournissent de l'eau abondamment et constamment dans toutes les rues, dans tous les carrefours, dans toutes les maisons, quoique la ville soit d'un côté fort haute, pour le service du public. Pour le feu il y a des pompes à main à tous les coins de rues. Les nouvelles rues ont été formées et aplanies en coupant de hautes montagnes. Les rues sont alignées toutes avec des trottoirs en briques très propres pour les gens à pied. Plusieurs ont des allées d'arbres de chaque côté. Les maisons sont en brique mais très élégantes avec des colonnades ou pilastres. Les boutiques presque toutes de magasins très bien fournis, les guérites aux coins des rues bâties comme de petites maisons avec un poêle dedans pour l'hiver, des lanternes abondamment partout, ou plutôt de beaux reverbères bien soignés et bien lumineux.

Le commerce est tellement accru dans Baltimore à raison de sa correspondance avec les Indes occidentales et orientales, l'Afrique et l'Europe, et avec l'intérieur qu'elle est devenue la rivale des deux ou trois grandes villes commerciales des États Unis, Philadelphie Boston et New York, et les a même surpassées quelque fois, au moins deux d'entr'elles. On ne doute point qu'elle ne devienne la plus belle ville de l'Union. Peut-être sera-t-on obligé d'ôter à Washington le nom de capitale et de le donner à Baltimore.

Admirez ici la Providence ; lorsque Baltimore fut choisi par le Pape pour le siège épiscopal des États Unis, on ne prévoyait pas que Baltimore deviendrait le centre du commerce et du gouvernement. Le grand nombre de Catholiques qui s'y trouvoient décida la

doubled in size and it is increasing with astonishing rapidity both as regards institutions and public works. At a short distance from the city there have been recently erected pumping stations which supply water plentifully and regularly to all the streets, all the public places, and all the houses, though the city on one side is somewhat elevated for the convenience of the public. For fire protection, there are hand pumps at every street corner. New streets have been laid out by cutting down and levelling the high ridges. The streets run in straight lines, all of them have brick sidewalks for the convenience of people on foot. Several of them have rows of trees on each side. The houses are built of brick, very stylish, and ornamented with colonnades or pilasters. There are shops nearly all of which are well-stocked warehouses, little sentry-boxes built like small houses at the street corners with a stove inside for the winter, lanterns posted everywhere, or rather fine street lamps well trimmed and very bright.

Business has grown so rapidly in Baltimore, owing to its connection with the West and the East Indies, Africa, Europe and the interior that it has become the rival of the two or three largest commercial cities in the United States, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, and has even outstripped them occasionally, at least two of them. There is every reason to believe that it will eventually become the finest city in the Union. Perhaps Washington may be obliged to surrender to Baltimore the title of Capital.

This seems providential. When Baltimore was chosen by the Pope as the episcopal see of the United States it was not foreseen that Baltimore should become the commercial and the political center. The large number of Catholics here decided the question ; and

question. Mais depuis l'érection de ce siège Philadelphie a cessé d'être le chef-lieu du gouvernement et a perdu de sa célébrité. Washington qu'on a mis à sa place est trop voisine de Baltimore et trop malsaine pour pouvoir se peupler. Baltimore deviendra donc comme une autre Rome dans le monde nouveau, la capitale de l'empire américain et de la religion catholique. Toutes les sectes différentes qu'on voit dans le Maryland sont réunies à Baltimore. Nous y ajouterons les disciples de Sweedenborg, les chrétiens de la nouvelle division de quakers et presbytériens, républicains et fédéralistes, anciens et nouveaux quakers. Les sectes s'y multiplient tous les jours et offrent un ridicule qui produit beaucoup d'indifférens parmi les américains. Les méthodistes sont ceux qui ont le plus de vogue, et dont les églises sont plus fréquentées. Ils affectent une grande sévérité dans les mœurs, un grand zèle pour la prédication et l'instruction des grands et des petits, des nègres et des blancs. Ils n'ont pas néanmoins de symbole. Et quoiqu'ils se disent chrétiens croyants en J.-C. et à la Bible, ils interprètent celle-ci à leur fantaisie, rejetant le péché originel après l'avoir admis, niant le fruit de la Rédemption et l'étendant ensuite jusqu'à tous les pécheurs, à tous les hommes; recevant le mystère de la Trinité et niant la divinité du St-Esprit; reconnoissant la nécessité du baptême, et professant que la foi des parens et la miséricorde de Dieu suppléent au baptême dans les enfans, etc. Mais comme tout se réduit à entendre une prédication tous les dimanches, à assister au chant des cantiques ou psaumes de David, comme ils prêchent beaucoup pour cette assistance, et que les boutiques sont exactement fermées ces jours-là, pour se désennuyer ou soulager sa conscience sur l'observation des dimanches on va à la prédication, et il faut avouer que la foule est grande. L'attachement à la religion de ses

since the erection of this see Philadelphia has ceased to be the political capital and has lost its prestige. Washington which has replaced it is too near Baltimore and too unhealthy to retain this position. Baltimore will then become like another Rome, in the New World, the capital of the American Empire and of Catholicism. All the sects found in Maryland are represented in Baltimore. We add to those mentioned, the Disciples of Swedenborg, Christians of the new division of Quakers, Presbyterians, Republicans, Federalists, Old and New Quakers. The sects are multiplying daily there and are becoming a laughing-stock ; to this we may ascribe the indifferentism of the Americans. The Methodists are in the lead, and their churches are the most frequented. They affect great severity in their mode of living and great zeal in preaching and in instructing young and old, negroes and whites. They have no creed, and though they call themselves believers in Jesus Christ and the Bible, they interpret this as they please. They reject original sin, after admitting it, deny the fruits of the Redemption, though they extend salvation to all sinners, they accept the mystery of the Trinity and deny the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and they acknowledge the necessity of Baptism, but claim that the faith of the parents and the mercy of God supply the place of infant Baptism. But as everything is reduced to preaching on Sundays and assisting at the singing of hymns and the psalms of David they preach a great deal for their congregations and as the shops are closed strictly on Sundays, to relieve the monotony or to salve their conscience regarding Sunday observance, they go to hear a sermon ; and it must be admitted that the gatherings are large. Loyalty to the religion of their forbears which they imagine has been always the same notwithstanding doctrinal chan-

pères, qu'on croit être toujours la même malgré le changement de doctrine pourvu qu'on entende parler de Dieu et de J.-C., joint à un grand amour pour la fortune, une grande application aux affaires temporelles, une grande indifférence pour le salut, fait qu'on ne pense pas à la religion catholique, ou l'on y pense trop peu ; malgré la prévention qu'ils ont contre elle à cause des préjugés de l'éducation, dans le fond du cœur ils croient qu'elle est la bonne, et si cette religion vient à prendre comme il y a à espérer de nouveaux accroissements, on sera surpris du grand nombre de conversions qui se feront alors parcequ'elle sera plus facilement connue. Leurs préjugés contr'elle ne sont pas si grands que dans les protestans d'Europe.

Au moment de mon arrivée à Baltimore en 1798, j'y trouvai deux églises catholiques, celle de St-Pierre qui est la cathédrale, sur un endroit très élevé de la ville, et une autre toute nouvelle à la Pointe. A présent il y en a six sans compter trois chapelles. Je vais en donner le détail. Il y a dans ce moment deux églises cathédrales, l'ancienne et la nouvelle. L'ancienne est celle-là même qu'on avoit au moment que l'Évêché des États Unis a été érigé, et elle a été longtems la seule église catholique. Quoique très vaste à raison des tribunes qui sont autour et dessus la porte, M. l'Évêque pensa de bonne heure à bâtir une cathédrale sur un plus grand plan, conformément aux instructions manifestées dans la Bulle du Pape. Il tâcha par une collection et réussit à obtenir une somme suffisante pour acheter un terrain assez vaste dans le milieu de la ville, c. a. d. entre les deux villes.

Lorsqu'il vit son troupeau s'augmenter par l'émigration de cinq à six mille françois échappés au malheur et aux massacres de St-Domingue et d'autres françois échappés de France, il se pressa d'acheter le

ges provided they hear mention of God or of Jesus Christ, coupled with money getting, great interest in worldly affairs and positive carelessness regarding salvation, make them indifferent towards Catholicism; or, at least, they never give it a thought. Yet notwithstanding their bias, which is due to inherited prejudice and education, they believe at the bottom of their hearts that it is the only true religion. This induces the hope that there will be new accessions [to the faith]. The number of conversions which will come about will be a matter of surprise when the [Catholic religion] comes to be better known. The prejudice against it is not so deeply seated as amongst the Protestants in Europe.³⁰

When I arrived in Baltimore in 1798 I found two Catholic churches there, St. Peter's which is the Cathedral, located on an eminence in the city, and another, quite new, at the Point. Now there are six, not counting three chapels. I am going to enter into details. There are at the moment two Cathedral churches, the old and the new. The old one, which was for a long while the only Catholic church [in the city] was in existence at the time of the erection of the Bishopric of the United States. Though quite large on account of the galleries around [the aisles] and above the door, the Bishop very soon decided to build a Cathedral of larger proportions, in conformity with the wish expressed in the Papal Bull. He succeeded in raising by means of a collection a sum adequate for the purchasing of a large plot in the heart of the city, that is, between the two sections of the city.³¹

When he saw that his flock was being augmented by the immigration of between five and six thousand French refugees fleeing from misery and massacre in St. Domingo, and other refugees from France he hastened to buy the property of which we have spoken.

terrain dont nous parlions, et la chose étoit conclue il y avoit quelque temps comme je sus par le rapport que m'en fit M. l'évêque lors de mon arrivée à Baltimore. Dans la suite on a jugé que la somme nécessaire pour un tel bâtiment seroit trop considérable pour que les catholiques pûssent la fournir pour oser même l'espérer par souscription, il ne s'agissoit de rien de moins que de 600,000 livres. On pensa d'obtenir du gouvernement la permission d'une loterie comme est l'usage dans les grandes entreprises. On l'obtint facilement, et elle a réussi au delà de toute espérance ; car comme dans ce temps là il y avoit bien peu de loteries, les billets ont été bientôt vendus. Le tirage s'est fait en peu de temps, et le gros lot, qui étoit de 250,000 livres, est tombé heureusement sur la tête de Mgr l'Évêque. Il eut la générosité de ne pas prendre un sou pour lui et a donné le tout pour la construction de l'église sans aucune réserve, ce qu'on doit admirer d'autant plus eut lui qu'il n'a aucun revenu de son église ou de ses diocésains, et qu'il est l'évêque le plus pauvre qu'il y ait dans l'univers.

L'année dernière, 1806, on commençoit déjà à travailler pour déblayer la place où devoit être l'église à bâtir, lorsque les MM. du Séminaire représentèrent à M. l'Évêque que cette place étoit trop éloignée du séminaire pour que l'on pût y envoyer les séminaristes tous les dimanches et fêtes pour servir Mgr l'Évêque dans les divins offices et contribuer en tout tems à leur solennité. Ce motif étoit d'autant plus pressant que Mgr l'Évêque n'a point de chapitre et de chanoines et un seul grand vicaire est auprès de lui, qui sert en même tems comme curé. On n'a pu avoir de fonds jusqu'à ce moment pour la création d'un chapitre cathédral, mais on l'espère en peu de tems.

Mgr l'Évêque se détermina alors à bâtir la nouvelle église à côté de l'ancienne, mais en changeant le cimetiè-

The purchase was made some time ago as I knew from the report furnished me by the Bishop when I arrived in Baltimore. Subsequently it was discovered that the sum needed for such a structure was too large an undertaking for the Catholic population, or even to be hoped for by raising a subscription ; the sum involved was nothing less than 600,000 *livres*. The thought suggested itself to seek the permission of the government to hold a lottery — a customary thing in such undertakings. It was easily secured, and [the lottery] was successful beyond all expectations, as at the time few lotteries were held. The tickets were soon sold ; the drawing took place shortly afterwards, and the big prize of 25,000 *livres* fell to the Bishop who generously declined to touch a penny of it for himself but handed over the whole sum for the building of the church. This is to be specially admired as the Bishop had practically no revenues from the church or from his diocessans, and was in fact the poorest bishop in the world.²²

Last year, 1806, a beginning was made to clear the place where it was proposed to build the church, when the Gentlemen of the Seminary represented to the Bishop that the locality was too far away from the Seminary, and that it would be impossible to have the seminarians go there on Sundays to assist in the divine offices, and thus contribute to carrying them out in a solemn manner. This was an urgent reason in view of the fact that the Bishop had neither chapter nor canons and only one priest with him who was both vicar-general and parish priest. So far, owing to lack of means the erection of a Cathedral Chapter had been impossible ; but it is hoped that there will be one in a little while.

Thereupon the Bishop decided to erect the new church alongside the old building, but it would be ne-

re de place pour y construire la nouvelle église dans son vaste plan. Si on avoit eu des moyens suffisants on auroit acheté à grands frais un autre terrain qui n'étoit pas éloigné, mais le plus élevé de la ville, le plus convenable pour une cathédrale catholique dans les États Unis. La somme de 120,000 livres qu'il eut fallu donner pour avoir ce terrain en bail emphytéotique, car c'est ainsi que se vendent les terres de ce pays là, cette somme étoit trop forte, et malgré le bon désir qu'on avoit on commençoit à dégarnir l'ancien cimetière et à transporter les corps morts ; on n'y travailla pas long tems ; une secrète horreur saisit les catholiques. Deux d'entre eux s'offrirent pour former une souscription pour la somme susdite. La souscription fut remplie à l'instant ; le beau terrain fut acheté ; on se mit tout de suite à travailler, et on a toujours continué jusqu'à présent. Au moment de mon départ de Baltimore les murs étoient à hauteur d'appui. Elle est bâtie en pierre, ce qui augmente beaucoup la dépense, mais lui donnera plus de majesté et de solidité. Elle est, autant que je puis m'en souvenir, de près de 300 pieds de longueur et large à proportion.

La bénédiction de la première pierre fut faite avec la plus grande pompe. Le concours du peuple catholique et non-catholique fut immense, le silence le plus religieux observé fidèlement par tous. Tous paroisoient et témoignoiient en cette circonstance avoir la même satisfaction que si c'étoit leur propre église. Ils l'appellent même dans les livres imprimés, notre cathédrale, tant il est vrai que la religion catholique est dans le cœur de tous les hommes. Ils appellent aussi Mgr l'Évêque, notre évêque, et ont pour lui le même respect et la même vénération que les catholiques.

C'étoit un spectacle vraiment touchant de voir ce peuple attentif, religieux, honorer cette cérémonie de

cessary to remove the cemetery to build the new church on such a large scale. If the means were available another property on the summit of the hill — one of the most suitable sites in the United States for a Cathedral — could be secured. It would cost some 120,000 *livres* to secure this property under an emphyteutic title, as this is the way in which lands are sold in this country ; but this was too large a sum to raise notwithstanding the ardent desire to do so, and the removal of the bodies from the old cemetery was begun. But work was soon suspended as the Catholics were seized with a secret horror. Two of them volunteered to take up a subscription to raise the sum required ; it was filled immediately and the splendid site was bought. Work was begun at once and it has continued uninterruptedly till now. At the time of my departure from Baltimore the walls were breast-high. [The Church] is built of stone, which adds considerably to the cost, but gives it a more solid and massive appearance. If I remember rightly the building is 300 feet long, and wide in proportion.²³

The blessing of the corner-stone was carried out with the greatest solemnity. The gathering of Catholics and even of non-Catholics was immense. A religious silence was observed. They seemed as interested in the under taking, as if it were their own church. Even in printed books it is called "Our Cathedral," and it would seem that Catholicism is deeply rooted in the hearts of the entire populace. They even call the Bishop "Our Bishop" and esteem him as highly and respect him as much as do the Catholics.

It was truly an edifying spectacle to see this crowd of devout and attentive people gathered to participate in the ceremony and to gaze upon the cross raised aloft

leur présence, regarder avec respect la croix arborée comme l'étendard de notre religion, vingt ecclésiastiques en surplus la suivant processionnellement avec une dévotion angélique, des prêtres vénérables par leur âge et par leurs travaux apostoliques servant de cortège à Mgr l'Évêque vêtu pontificalement, la mitre en tête, la procession marchant ainsi dans les rues environnée et suivie d'un peuple immense. M. l'Évêque en fut attendri jusqu'aux larmes en voyant le triomphe de J.-C., de sa croix, et de notre religion, sur toutes les fausses religions qui couvrent le sol de l'Amérique, et il présageoit dans ce moment que l'église qu'il alloit bâtir et dont il posoit la première pierre seroit comme cette montagne dominant sur toutes les autres montagnes prédites par le prophète Isaïe, à laquelle toutes les nations du monde qui sont en Amérique accourroient en foule, *et erit mons elevatus super omnes colles et fluent ad eum omnes gentes*. Il fit un discours à ce peuple religieux et il fut écouté comme s'ils l'eussent tous regardé en ce moment comme un nouveau Pierre pour fonder l'église de J.-C. en Amérique.

M. l'Évêque jugea à propos d'insérer dans les papiers publics la relation de cette cérémonie avec ses circonstances très propres à édifier les fidèles des États Unis et à faire même impression sur les non-catholiques.

La même cérémonie fut renouvelée quelques tems après pour l'église de la Pointe. Nous allons parlé de cette église et paroisse plus amplement, parcequ'elle mérite de fixer notre attention.

Cette paroisse qu'on appelle de St-Patrice est toute nouvelle, et voici comment elle est formée. Comme le port de Baltimore est principalement à la Pointe et que les capitaines Irlandois sont chargés de tems en tems de la conduite des bâtimens, que plusieurs matelots sont Irlandois, M. l'Évêque présuma avec raison qu'il s'en trouveroit parmi eux de catho-

as the emblem of our religion. Twenty clerics in surplice followed it in processional order ; then came the priests venerable with years and apostolic labors, acting as a guard of honor to the bishop who was robed in full pontificals, with the mitre. The procession moved in this order through the streets, followed by a large gathering of people. The Bishop was moved even to tears at this spectacle of the triumph of Jesus Christ, the Cross, and our religion over the many sects spread throughout America, and he envisaged at this moment that the Church which was about to be built, whose corner stone he was laying, might be like unto the mountain dominating the other hills foretold by the Prophet Isaias, to which all the nations of the world represented in America should hasten in multitudes, *et erit mons elevatus super omnes colles et fluent ad eum omnes gentes*. He delivered a touching discourse to this devout gathering and he was listened to as if all regarded him as a new Peter [commissioned] to establish the Church of Jesus Christ in America.

The Bishop, deemed it seasonable to insert in the newspapers a memorial of this ceremony with its attendant circumstances which not only edified the faithful of the United States but produced an impression on non-Catholics.

A similar ceremony was performed sometime later in connection with the church at the Point. We are going to discuss this church and parish at some length, as it deserves our attention.

This parish which is called St. Patrick's is quite new, and it came into being under the following circumstances.

As the harbor of Baltimore is centered at the Point and several of the captains who from time to time are employed in piloting vessels, as well as some of the sailors, are Irish, the Bishop, naturally presumed that

liques qui seroient bien aises les dimanches et fêtes qu'on vint les instruire et leur dire la messe. MM. de St-Sulpice venant d'arriver à Baltimore, M. l'Évêque demanda qu'un d'entre eux voulût bien se charger de cette mission. Le choix tomba sur M. Garnier, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, et qui s'en acquitta avec le plus grand zèle. Le nombre de ses auditeurs fut très petit dans les commencements, on n'en compta d'abord que douze, puis en peu de tems ce furent douze familles composant cette paroisse naissante. Bientôt les maisons particulières ne pouvant les contenir, on pensa à bâtir une église. Le jour de St-Patrice, M. l'Évêque fit un sermon très touchant, et pressa si fortement sur la fin pour la construction de l'église qu'elle fut résolue à l'instant, et dans quelques semaines le bâtiment fut achevé. Un séminariste y allait tous les dimanches avec M. Garnier pour faire le catéchisme aux grandes et petites personnes, et les choses étoient en cet état à mon arrivée à Baltimore en 1798.

L'accroissement de la paroisse étant des plus rapides, un prêtre nouvellement ordonné appelé M. Floyd fut destiné à y exercer les fonctions de curé. Il s'en acquitta de la manière la plus édifiante et avec le zèle le plus ardent, et dans une maladie épidémique, il devint victime de sa charité; ayant contracté la maladie, il mourut infiniment regretté de ses paroisiens et avec l'estime générale des protestants. Il avoit demandé par humilité d'être enterré devant la porte de l'église. On exécuta ses volontés mais, à l'invitation d'un grand nombre et à la satisfaction de tous sans exception, son humilité servit à sa gloire. Mde Barry, fervente catholique et digne épouse de M. Barry, aussi zélé Catholique et un des premiers négociants en Amérique, fit placer sur la tombe de ce saint prêtre de St-Sulpice une inscription où l'on retraça en peu de mots les belles qualités et les vertus héroïques de M. Floyd.

there were many Catholics among them who would be glad to assist at mass and instruction on Sundays and holydays. Shortly after the arrival of the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice at Baltimore, the Bishop requested one of them to take charge of this mission. Mr. Garnier, of whom we have already spoken, was chosen for the work and performed it most zealously. His audience was very small in the beginning ; there were not more than a dozen people. Within a short time, however, there were twelve families in this growing parish. After a while, as they could not be accommodated in private houses, it was decided to build a church. On St. Patrick's Day the Bishop preached a very touching sermon and towards the close he strongly urged the erection of a church. This was immediately acted upon and in a few weeks the building was completed. A seminarian went there regularly with Mr. Garnier to teach catechism to young and old, and things were in this condition on my arrival in Baltimore in 1798.

As the parish was growing very rapidly Mr. Floyd, a priest recently ordained was sent there as pastor. He was most edifying in the discharge of his duties and untiring in his zeal. He died during an epidemic disease, deeply regretted by his parishioners and mourned by the Protestants. He had humbly asked to be buried in front of the church door. His wish was carried out ; but on the initiative of several people and to the delight of all without exception, his humility redounded to his honor. Mrs. Barry, a devout Catholic woman, wife of Mr. Barry who was also an excellent Catholic and rated as one of the most prominent merchants in America, had engraved on the monument to this holy Sulpician priest an inscription setting forth in a few words the noble qualities and heroic virtues of Mr. Floyd.³⁴

Après sa mort on confia le soin de cette paroisse à M. Tessier, prêtre de St-Sulpice, jusqu'à ce qu'on pût y mettre un autre prêtre résident. Ce fut M. Moranvillé, prêtre du Séminaire du St-Esprit de Paris, venant de la Guiane et de Cayenne, où il n'avoit pu continuer ses fonctions dans le tems de la Révolution. Ce fut donc lui que M. l'Évêque choisit pour être prêtre desservant ou curé de cette paroisse. Je dis prêtre desservant ou curé, il n'y a pas proprement de curés dans les États-Unis. Ils sont tous prêtres desservants à résidence ou prêtres missionnaires.

M. Moranvillé, plein de talents, de piété et de vertus, marcha fidèlement sur les traces de ses prédécesseurs et a obtenu le plus grand succès en peu de temps. L'église, quoiqu'assez nouvellement bâtie, n'a plus suffi pour le nombre des paroissiens. Il a fallu penser à en bâtir une autre beaucoup plus grande. Il a pris pour cela la voie de souscription, très commune dans ce pays là, et il a réussi selon ses désirs. Les non-Catholiques ont fourni en aussi grand nombre que les Catholiques, et elle est montée jusqu'à la somme de 260,000 livres. Elle est actuellement très avancée, et je suis persuadé que dans deux ou trois mois on y dira la messe. La conversion des protestants n'étoit pas bien considérable eu égard à son zèle jusqu'au tems que j'ai quitté l'Amérique. Ils s'est fait une espèce d'ébranlement parmi eux, et j'ai vu avec plaisir des protestants venir tous les jours chez lui demander l'instruction pour abjurer leur secte et devenir catholiques. Je parle comme témoin du zèle fructueux de ce digne prêtre, parce que j'étois chargé d'aller l'aider tous les quinze jours dans ses instructions du dimanche et des fêtes auxquelles il ne pouvoit suffire tout seul. Son supérieur désire qu'il retourne à la Guiane et à Cayenne, mais il ne peut le

After his death the care of the parish was entrusted to Mr. Tessier, priest of St. Sulpice, pending the appointment of another resident pastor, who was Mr. Moranvillé, a priest of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost, in Paris, who came from Guiana and Cayenne where he was unable to continue his priestly duties during the Revolution. He was chosen by the Bishop as curate in charge or parish priest of this parish. I say curate because there are really no *curés* properly so called in the United States, as they are all curates in residence or missionary priests. Mr. Moranvillé who was a man of great ability and very devout, trod faithfully in the footsteps of his predecessors and wrought wonders in a short while. The church though built quite recently was unable to accommodate the parishioners, and it was necessary to consider building a larger one. To do so, he undertook to raise a subscription — a very common practice at the time in these parts ; and succeeded in attaining his purpose. Non-Catholics contributed as largely as did the Catholics, and it reached 260,000 *livres*. The church is now pretty near completion, and I believe that within two or three months it will be ready for Mass. The conversion of the Protestants was not up to the time that I left America, commensurate with his zeal. A sort of split has occurred amongst them, and I saw with pleasure Protestants coming to him every day seeking instruction to abjure their belief and become Catholics. I speak as an eye witness of the zealous efforts of this worthy priest, as I had been appointed to assist him every fortnight in giving instructions on Sundays and holy-days as he was unable to do the work alone. His superior wished him to return to Guiana and Cayenne, but he could not abandon his charge unless some priest from Europe who knew English could be found to take his place.

faire s'il n'est remplacé par un prêtre d'Europe sachant l'anglois.

L'église allemande de St-Jean nouvellement établie mérite notre attention autant que la précédente à raison de son importance.

Nous avons dit ailleurs et avec vérité que les allemands dans les États Unis formoient le plus grand nombre pour la population après les anglo-américains. Ces allemands sont en grand nombre calvinistes ou luthériens, mais un assez grand nombre d'entre eux sont Catholiques. Comme Baltimore a pris de grands accroissements pour le commerce et la population, on devoit s'attendre que les allemands y viendroient comme les autres. Étant extrêmement attachés à leur ancienne patrie et à la langue allemande, ils ne venoient qu'en petit nombre écouter les sermons anglois de l'église Catholique de St-Pierre. Un prêtre allemand nommé Ryster, et qui s'étoit présenté à M. l'évêque avec d'assez bons certificats mais non pas assez sûrs pour lui permettre l'exercice des fonctions sacerdotales, s'offrit aux allemands Catholiques pour les prêcher et leur administrer les sacrements, leur dire la messe les dimanches et fêtes, en un mot, leur servir de curé.

Plusieurs allemands s'imaginant qu'il étoit autorisé par M. l'Évêque assistèrent à sa messe, se confessèrent à lui, et il engagea tellement leur confiance qu'il bâtit une fort jolie église à peu de distance de l'église de St-Pierre.

M. l'Évêque ne manqua pas à son devoir. Il lui parla sur l'irrégularité de sa conduite, exigea de lui une réparation du passé, lui demanda une soumission parfaite pour l'avenir, mais il n'obtint que quelques paroles équivoques, et bientôt la conduite scandaleuse de ce prêtre l'obligea à l'interdire. Malgré l'interdit il continua d'exercer ses fonctions. Un grand nombre d'allemands se retira de sa communion mais un trop grand

The recently-established German Church of St. John deserves our attention equally as the preceding on account of its importance. We have said elsewhere and truly that the Germans in the United States ranked next in population to the Anglo-Americans. These Germans are largely Calvinists or Lutherans, but quite a number of them are Catholics. It was natural to expect that owing to the development of Baltimore commercially and its increase in population that the Germans would flock there as others did. Being particularly attached to the Fatherland and the German language, few of them came to hear an English sermon at St. Peter's. A German priest named Ryster [Reuter] who had fairly good credentials, but not warranting the exercise of priestly functions, had presented himself to the Bishop, and made an offer to the German Catholics to preach for them, administer the sacraments, say Mass on Sundays and holydays, in a word, to become their pastor. Several Germans, under the impression that he had been authorized by the Bishop, attended his Mass, went to confession to him, and he won their confidence to such an extent that he built a very pretty church at a short distance from St. Peter's.

The Bishop was not remiss in his duty. He spoke to him regarding the irregularity of his conduct, exacted reparation for the past, and demanded perfect submission for the future, but got only a few equivocal promises. Soon afterwards the scandalous conduct of this priest forced the Bishop to suspend him. Notwithstanding the suspension, he continued to perform priestly duties. Quite a number of the Germans left his church, but too many still continued to regard him as their pastor. The Bishop made frequent efforts to weed out this scandal from his church, and finally he prevailed with the magistrates to exercise all their authority to eject this rebellious priest from the

nombre continua de s'adresser à lui comme à leur prêtre. M. l'Évêque travailla longtemps à arracher ce scandale du champ de son église, et enfin il obtint auprès des magistrats qu'ils employeroient tout leur pouvoir pour faire sortir ce prêtre rebelle de l'église et presbytère qu'il occupoit, et l'empêcher d'y exercer aucune fonction ecclésiastique. Les ordres furent bientôt envoyés au prêtre allemand qui d'abord résista étant soutenu par un certain nombre de ses prétendus paroissiens ; mais à la seconde visite qu'on lui fit, il fallut obéir à l'ordre et depuis ce temps-là il a disparu et les choses ont été aussi bien qu'on pouvoit le désirer. M. l'Évêque a donné à ces allemands un bon prêtre allemand européen qui a bientôt ramené ces schismatiques, et cette paroisse devint des plus intéressantes pour la religion dans les États Unis. Comme le prêtre de cette paroisse étoit auparavant dans une mission allemande très considérable avec un autre appelé M. Debarth, M. l'Évêque m'a envoyé pour aider ce dernier dans ces missions angloises-allemandes, ce qui m'a donné lieu d'y établir un petit séminaire de jeunes allemands qui dans la suite conserveront et propageront la religion Catholique parmi eux.

Nous avons à parler maintenant de la paroisse françoise, angloise, américaine, et nègre de St-Sulpice à Baltimore. Aussitôt que les voisins Catholiques surent que les MM. de St-Sulpice avoient une chapelle dans leur maison ou à côté de leur maison où ils disoient la messe tous les jours, quelques-uns demandèrent la permission d'y assister. On la leur accorda. Et ils vinrent bientôt et ils demandèrent à se confesser aux MM. du Séminaire. M. du Bourg nouvellement arrivé d'Espagne entreprit l'instruction des nègres et négresses venus de St Domingue et qui étoient entièrement abandonnés à eux-mêmes pour les pratiques de la reli-

church and rectory, and inhibit him from performing any clerical duty. A writ was soon issued against this German priest, who, at first, took no cognizance of it, as he was sustained in this action by a certain number of his so-called parishioners ; but the second notice made him submit to the order of the court, and from that time things have gone on as well as could be desired. The Bishop gave these Germans a good German priest from Europe who in a little while brought these schismatics back to the fold ; and this parish became one of the most promising from a religious view point in the United States.¹⁵ As this priest had formerly labored in a German mission of considerable importance with another named Mr. De Barth, the Bishop sent me to help the latter in his English missions. This gave me an opportunity to establish a little seminary for young Germans who later will be instrumental in preserving and propagating Catholicism among them.

We must now speak of the French, English, American and Negro parish of St. Sulpice in Baltimore. When the neighboring Catholics became aware that the gentlemen of St. Sulpice had a chapel in their house or nearby where they said Mass every day, some of those asked permission to assist at it. This was granted. Shortly afterwards they came and asked to go to confession to the Gentlemen of the Seminary. Mr. Du Bourg, recently arrived from Spain, had resumed the spiritual care of the St. Domingo negroes and negresses who had been left entirely to themselves in the matter of religious exercises. Soon afterwards, as Mr. Du Bourg was engaged in establishing a college, he left the instructions and catechizing of those people in the hands of Mr. Tessier, who discharged this duty most zealously and with results. The diligence with which those negroes and negresses attended the instructions, beads, singing, and catechism was so edifying, that

gion. Peu de tems après M. du Bourg étant occupé de l'établissement d'un collège laissa cette instruction et catéchisme entre les mains de son confrère M. Tessier qui la continua avec zèle et avec fruit. L'assiduité de ces nègres et négresses les jours de dimanche et fêtes aux instructions, chapelets, cantiques, catéchisme dans le séminaire formoit un spectacle très édifiant qui engagea plusieurs françois et françoises, irlandois et irlandaises, américains et américaines d'y assister et de se confesser à M. Tessier. M. Tessier ne pouvant plus suffire au nombre des pénitens demanda le secours de ses confrères, se réservant spécialement les nègres et les négresses dont le nombre augmentoit tous les jours. Quelques américains et américaines protestants se convertirent; ceux-ci en gagnèrent d'autres, ce qui augmenta encore le troupeau, et actuellement le progrès de ces conversions est plus constant et revient toutes les semaines. La chapelle devenant trop petite on a pensé à en bâtir une autre au Collège séparant le peuple des MM. du Séminaire, mais le moyen étoit insuffisant. Il a fallu penser à construire une grande église et on a bientôt mis la main à l'œuvre.

Cette église est dans l'ordre gothique, mais dans cet ordre très régulière et très belle. On travaille dans l'intérieur maintenant, et on étoit occupé à former les colonnades des bas côtés dans un bon goût et à la plafonner lorsque je suis parti. L'art y règne, l'exactitude dans l'exécution du plan donné et conduit par un françois européen attire l'admiration des étrangers qui viennent constamment contenter leur curiosité. Plusieurs quoique protestants se proposent d'y assister aux divins offices, ne doutant pas, comme cela est vrai et certain, qu'ils s'y feront avec beaucoup de pompe et de majesté suivant le rite purement romain. De toutes les observations précédentes sur les différentes églises de Baltimore, il résulte que le peuple

several French, Irish, and Americans of both sexes also attended and went to confession to Mr. Tessier. Mr. Tessier was unable to minister to such a large number of penitents alone and asked help from his brethren, reserving specially for himself the negroes and negresses who were coming in greater numbers every day. Some American Protestant men and women became converts ; these induced others to follow their example, with the result that the flock increased, and at the moment the progress of these conversions is steady and is a weekly event. As the chapel became too small, there was question of building another at the College where the people would be separated from the Gentlemen of the Seminary, but the means were lacking. It became necessary to erect a large church, and the work was immediately taken in hand.

This Church is Gothic in style but in the traditional order and very beautiful. They are now working on the interior, and when I left they were shaping up the fluted pillars which are most attractive, and finishing the ceiling. It is quite artistic. The perfect manner in which the plan is drawn and supervised by a European Frenchman are carried out is the cynosure of strangers who visit it regularly to gratify their curiosity. There are even Protestants who say that they will attend the services as they feel certain that what shall be done there, as it will be performed with all the ceremony and majesty of the purely Roman Rite, must be true. From what we have stated above regarding the various churches it follows that the Catholic population is daily increasing in a visible manner and that this will continue. Since the Catholics of Baltimore may be estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand, and relatively are in the majority, comprising more than a third of the population, it is not

Catholique y augmente tous les jours visiblement, que cet accroissement ira toujours croissant, et que l'on compte maintenant au moins de douze à quinze mille Catholiques dans Baltimore, ce qui fait la plus grande partie relativement aux religions respectives et plus du tiers de la population. On doit espérer que dans la suite elle deviendra presque entièrement Catholique et méritera alors plus que jamais d'être la capitale de la religion et de la catholicité dans les États Unis, soit par son siège épiscopal et métropolitain, soit par le grand nombre des Catholiques qui y seront réunis de toutes les nations, anglois, américains, allemands, françois, irlandois et autres européens ou américains.

beyond hope that in time Baltimore will become predominantly Catholic and will, more than ever, deserve to be the leading Catholic city and the headquarters of Catholicism in the United States, whether we view it as an episcopal and Metropolitan See, or as an aggregation of Catholics of all nationalities, English, American, German, French, Irish and other Europeans or Americans.

GEORGETOWN

Il y a plusieurs villes de ce même nom dans les États Unis, comme dans le comté de Maine, dans la Georgie, dans la Caroline du Sud ; nous parlons ici de Georgetown du comté de Montgomery dans le Maryland et dans le territoire de Colombia. Sa situation est des plus agréables étant placée sur plusieurs petites collines au nord de la la rivière Potowmack, et à l'est de la petite rivière de la Roche, qui la sépare de la cité de Washington. Elle renferme près de 300 maisons dont la plupart sont très jolies et très commodes. Elle n'est éloignée de la cité de Washington que d'une grande lieue, et de trois lieues d'Alexandrie. Cette ville entretient un assez grand commerce avec l'Europe et les Indes occidentales ; elle est au sud-ouest par ouest de Baltimore à la distance de 15 lieues. Le collège de Georgetown est ce qui nous intéresse le plus. Il a été bâti par les Jésuites, et à leur dépens, et forme un très beau bâtiment très spacieux et très commode. On y a même ajouté un second bâtiment comme un second collège depuis ce tems, ce qui a contribué à son embellissement. Il a été établi uniquement pour l'usage des Catholiques, et jusqu'à M. du Bourg, prêtre françois, constamment on n'a reçu que des jeunes gens de cette religion. Mais ce président dans le tems qu'il gouvernoit le collège a annoncé au public qu'on recevrait des jeunes gens de toute religion, les Catholiques néanmoins ayant un logement à part pour l'exercice de leur religion. Le besoin de professeurs et de sujets pour la présidence de ce collège fait recourir aux MM. de St-Sulpice qui se sont prêtés à cette bonne œuvre et ont donné une grande célébrité à ce collège. M. du Bourg y étoit

GEORGETOWN

There are several towns of this name in the United States, in the County of Maine, in Georgia and in South Carolina; here we deal with Georgetown in the County of Montgomery, Maryland, and in the District of Columbia. It is agreeably situated on several small hills on the north side of the Potomac River and east of the little stream which separates it from the city of Washington. It contains nearly 300 houses most of which are very elegant and comfortable. It is not more than a long league from Washington and three leagues from Alexandria. This city has considerable trade with Europe and the West Indies. It is southwest from Baltimore, fifteen leagues distant. The College of Georgetown is what interests us most. It was built by the Jesuits and at their expense and is a very fine structure, large and comfortable. Since it was built another building has been added which serves as a second college. This has improved it vastly. It was established solely for the use of Catholics and until the time of Mr. Du Bourg, a French priest, it received only students of this faith; but when he became president of the College he announced to the public that students of all creeds would be received. Catholic students, however, had their own quarters for religious exercises. Owing to scarcity of professors and subjects for the presidency of this College, recourse was had to the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice who responded generously in aiding this good work and they gave the College quite a reputation. Mr. Du Bourg became

président, MM. Maréchal et David ont été professeurs de philosophie. Des jeunes gens bien formés dans le collège de Baltimore y ont été envoyés pour enseigner les belles lettres, comme MM. Montdésir, Maréchal, et Mathieu, américain. M. Flaget ancien recteur de St-Sulpice à Angers y étoit professeur et vice-président ou administrateur avec M. Babad. Le collège renfermoit alors un grand nombre d'étudiants, plusieurs professeurs des beaux arts. Mais depuis l'établissement du Collège de Ste-Marie de Baltimore, quoique le Collège de Georgetown se soutienne et qu'il ait un assez bon nombre de sujets pensionnaires, le nombre diminue nécessairement pour ce moment. Il n'a pas d'ailleurs le droit d'université comme celui de Baltimore, mais le nombre des professeurs et administrateurs ayant augmenté en dernier lieu, les choses ont repris un meilleur état et devinrent de bonnes espérances pour l'avenir. Les nouveaux jésuites arrivés d'Europe au nombre de cinq vont donner une plus grande célébrité à cet établissement qui est maintenant non seulement un collège mais encore un noviciat des jésuites et une paroisse. Ce noviciat a déjà dix novices dont M. Mathieu a été nommé maître et les jeunes gens novices sont d'une grande espérance, deux surtout qui ont été élèves au Séminaire de St-Sulpice de Baltimore, ont été professeurs dans le Collège de Georgetown et sont très avancés dans l'étude de la théologie. Ce sera donc une pépinière de missionnaires pour le Maryland auquel ils sont premièrement destinés, mais encore pour les États Unis, et dans la suite pour les sauvages même ils feront de plus grands biens à raison de la grande vénération que les sauvages ont pour les jésuites dont ils n'ont jamais perdu et ne perdent jamais la mémoire qui y est en bénédiction.

president, while Messrs. Maréchal and David were professors of philosophy. Young men who had been well trained in the College at Baltimore were sent there to teach the humanities, such as Messrs. Montdésir, Maréchal and Matthews, an American. Mr. Flaget, formerly rector of St. Sulpice at Angers, was there as professor and vice-president or administrator together with Mr. Babad. The College at that time had a large number of students, several of them studying the fine arts ; but since the establishment of St. Mary's College at Baltimore, Georgetown College, though having a considerable number of student boarders, necessarily has a smaller enrollment for the time being . It has not the status of a university such as the College of Baltimore, but as the number of professors and instructors has lately increased, things have assumed a more hopeful outlook. Five new Jesuits recently arrived from Europe will add greater lustre to this institution which at the present time is not only a college but a Jesuit novitiate and a parish. This novitiate has already ten novices of whom Mr. Matthews has been named master, and the young novices are very promising, two especially, students of the Sulpician Seminary at Baltimore, engaged in teaching at Georgetown College being well advanced in their theological studies. This will be a nursery of missionaries for Maryland for which they are primarily intended, and also for the United States; and in the days to come they will even do much good for the Indians owing to the great veneration these aborigines have for the Jesuits whose memory has not faded, nor will it fade from among them, since it is held in benediction.³⁶

The Provincial Superior of the Jesuits resides at Georgetown ; at the moment Mr. Molyneux occupies this position. It is also the residence of Mr. Leonard

C'est à Georgetown que demeure le supérieur provincial des Jésuites ; c'est aujourd'hui M. Molineux. C'est aussi la résidence de l'évêque coadjuteur de Gortyna, M. Léonard Neale. On y voit depuis plusieurs années, avec la plus grande édification pour tous les États Unis, un couvent de Carmélites, dirigé et établi par les Jésuites. C'est M. François Neale, frère du précédent, qui en est le supérieur. La paroisse, comme nous avons dit, est dirigée aussi par les Jésuites, et c'est le même François Neale qui en est le pasteur. L'église de cette paroisse, qui est fort jolie et entretenue dans la plus grande propreté, est dédiée à la Très Sainte-Trinité; de là vient le nom qu'elle porte, l'Église de la Ste-Trinité.

Les autres paroisses et missions ou établissements du Maryland n'ont pas la même importance et célébrité que les deux précédents, et nous n'avons pas sur cet objet des connoissances si étendues. Mais nous verrons qu'ils sont en assez grand nombre et plus j'ai acquis de connoissances plus j'ai eu lieu de me convaincre de leur importance pour la religion catholique.

Neale the coadjutor-bishop, [titular] of Gortyna. For many years a Convent of Carmelites⁷⁷ established and directed by the Jesuits has given great edification here ; their superior is Mr. Francis Neale, brother of the preceding. As we have said the parish is under the direction of the Jesuits, and the same Francis is its pastor. The parish church which is handsome and maintained in the greatest possible neatness, is dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, hence the name which it bears, Church of the Holy Trinity.

The other parishes and missions or settlements of Maryland are neither so important or as famous as the two preceding, and we have not such an extensive knowledge of them as of these above. But we shall see that they are quite numerous, and the more I know of them the more am I convinced of their importance for the Catholic religion.

WASHINGTON

Cette ville est dans le territoire de Colombia qui a été cédé par les états unis de la Virginie et du Maryland aux États Unis, et établie par eux comme siège de leur gouvernement en 1800. Cette cité (c'est ainsi qu'on appelle les plus grandes villes ou destinées à l'être) est située à la jonction du Potowmac et de sa branche orientale, ayant plus d'une lieue et demie en longueur sur chacune de ces rivières. Quoique le terrain de la ville soit assez plat, il y a aussi beaucoup de talus et d'élévations qui donnent la facilité de couler ; on voit dans l'intérieur de la ville un très grand nombre de sources d'eau douce excellente et des puits qui donnent de l'eau de la meilleure qualité. La branche orientale du Potowmac forme un port extrêmement commode et d'une assez grande profondeur pour les plus gros bâtiments. Néanmoins, malgré les espérances qu'on avait conçues de l'agrandissement de cette ville, croyant qu'elle deviendrait la plus riche et la plus commerçante des États Unis, elle n'a pas fait beaucoup de progrès ni pour la population ni pour le commerce. C'est sans doute Baltimore à laquelle on a donné et on donne toujours la préférence qui en est la véritable cause, étant si voisines l'une de l'autre, l'air de Baltimore étant plus sain, la navigation plus facile et mieux placée pour le commerce de l'intérieur.

Le plan de cette ville est un des plus beaux qui soit dans le monde, et a été donné par un officier français. On y remarque dans un degré éminent la régularité, la convenance, la libre circulation de l'air, la beauté des aspects. Les édifices publics ont été construits dans

WASHINGTON

This city is in the District of Columbia which was ceded by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States, and established as the seat of government in 1800. This city (for such is the name given to large towns actual or prospective) is situated at the junction of the western and the eastern branch of the Potowmac [Potomac], being more than a league in extent along each of these rivers.²⁸ Though the land on which the city is built is rather flat there are mounds and elevations which render drainage easy. Within the city may be seen quite a number of excellent springs and wells which furnish water of the best quality. The eastern branch of the Potowmac forms a very convenient harbor with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships. Despite the hopes entertained for the growth of this city (it was believed that it was destined to be the richest and most commercial city of the United States), Washington has not made much progress either as regards population or trade. It is doubtless Baltimore which has been and is preferred [as a trade centre] as the cities are so near each other, and Baltimore is more healthy, and has better shipping facilities for the trade of the interior. The plan of this city is one of the finest in the world, and was drawn by a French officer. It is especially remarkable for its regular lines, its proportions, free circulation of air and attractiveness. The public buildings have been built in squares with an outlook in different directions

des places carrées avec différentes faces, sur le terrain le plus élevé de manière qu'on puisse les aggrandir, les perfectionner, les embellir dans leur alentour. Le Capitole est placé sur le lieu le plus éminent, ayant vues sur toute la cité et sur toute la campagne des environs. Le palais du président est le mieux placé ayant une belle vue sur l'eau en face du Capitole. Les rues sont alignées et dirigées vers le Capitole comme vers un centre, avec des rues de traverses et des rayonnantes, propres à faciliter la communication dans toute l'étendue de la ville. Les objets les plus agréables à la vue ou les plus beaux édifices sont placés à l'extrémité des rues et peuvent être facilement aperçus. Les rues ont jusqu'à 160 pieds de largeur. La ligne méridienne passe par la place du Capitole. Ces rues sont plantées d'arbres des deux côtés et divisées en trottoirs ou chemins des gens à pied, promenades sous les arbres, et chemin pour les voitures qui est pavé et dans le milieu. Cette cité contenait en 1803 environ 800 maisons, la plupart en brique, quelques-unes en pierre, plusieurs très belles ; mais il y a diminution de population depuis ce temps-là, quelques-unes de ces maisons tombent en ruines faute d'habitants. Il y a dans cette ville trois églises, une pour les catholiques romains qui tient le premier rang dans les livres de géographie, sans doute à cause qu'elle est plus belle, plus vaste, et qu'il y a un plus grand nombre de catholiques que des autres sectes. M. Mathieu en est curé, et il y faisoit sa résidence avant qu'il fut maître des novices jésuites. Il y adosse un presbytère et assez commode, autrement il auroit pu loger au Collège de Georgetown qui n'est qu'à une lieue de distance. Les deux autres églises sont pour les anabaptistes et les épiscopaux.

on an eminence so that they can be enlarged and improved and their neighborhood beautified. The Capitol occupies the most commanding position, having a vista over the city and the surrounding country. The President's Palace [White House] has the best location, with an excellent outlook in front of the Capitol. The streets are laid out in straight lines converging toward the Capitol, with cross streets and others which run diagonally to facilitate communication throughout the whole city. The chief points of interest, or the finest buildings, are located at the further end of the streets and can be easily seen. Some of the streets are 160 feet wide. The meridian line runs through Capitol Square. These streets are lined on both sides with trees and divided so as to afford sidewalks for people on foot. There are walks beneath the trees and a driveway which is paved in the middle. In 1803 the city contained about 800 houses, most of them brick, some stone, many of them very attractive; but since that date the population has decreased and many of the houses have become dilapidated for lack of occupants. The city has three churches, one belonging to the Roman Catholics, which, according to the geographies, holds first rank, presumably because it is the largest and finest and because the Catholic population is larger than any of the other sects. Mr. Matthews is the pastor, and he resided there before he became Jesuit novice-master. Adjoining the church there is a comfortable presbytery, otherwise he could have lodging at Georgetown College which is only one league away. The other two churches belong to the Anabaptists and the Episcopalians.

BLADEN-BURGH

Bladenbourgh est une ville de poste aux lettres dans le comté de Prince George dans le Maryland, sur la rive orientale de la branche de l'est du Potowmac, à deux lieues de Washington. Cette ville contient environ 150 maisons. Dans le nord de la ville est une église catholique avec un presbytère. Il y a beaucoup de catholiques dans les campagnes voisines. C'est M. B. Plunkett qui en est le pasteur. Nous ne savons pas d'autres particularités sur cette congrégation, — c'est ainsi qu'on appelle la paroisse ou mission.

WHITE MARSH

White Marsh, en français blanc marais, est une petite ville du comté de Montgomery à 3 lieues de Washington. Il y a une poste aux lettres, et c'est ce que nous entendons lorsque nous disons d'une ville que c'est une ville de poste. M. Bitouset, prêtre français, demeure dans cette même ville où il y a une église et un presbytère. Il y a longtemps qu'il dessert cette paroisse ou congrégation qui paraît être considérable.

BLADENSBURG

Bladensburg is a post-town for letters in the County of Prince George in Maryland, on the east bank of the eastern branch of the Potomac, two leagues from Washington. It has about 300 houses. In the northern section of the town there is a Catholic Church with a presbytery. There are a great many Catholics in the neighborhood. Mr. Plunkett is the pastor. We have no other details regarding this congregation (this is the term used to designate a parish or a mission).

WHITEMARSH

Whitemarsh (*blanc marais*, in French) is a small town in the County of Montgomery three leagues from Washington. It has a post office (this is what we understand when we say of a town that it is a "post-town"). Mr. Bitouzey, a French priest, resides in the same town, which has a presbytery. He has been attending this parish, or congregation which seems to be quite important, for a long while.³⁹

COMTÉ DE STE-MARIE

Ce comté a un très grand nombre de catholiques, mais dispersés en différents lieux. C'est dans ce comté que s'est établi le lord de Baltimore à son arrivée en Amérique environné de ceux qui étaient venus d'Europe avec lui. Le comté est dans la péninsule entre le Potowmack et le Patuxent. On y voit la congrégation de M. Carroll. M. Périgny, françois européen et docteur de Sorbonne, bibliothécaire de la bibliothèque de Baltimore, est desservant de cette congrégation. L'Eglise ou chapelle a été bâtie par M. Carroll sur son terrain. Voilà pourquoi on appelle cette congrégation de son nom.

COMTÉ DE CHARLES (MARTEL)

Ce comté est sur le bord occidental du Maryland, entre le Potowmack et le Patuxent. Sa ville principale est Port Tobacco sur la rivière du même nom. Il y a une église et une congrégation dans un village qu'on appelle St-Thomas, une autre à Newport ville de poste à 3 lieues de Port Tobacco. C'est M. Pasquier qui est chargé de la congrégation, une autre à Pammaky, c'est M. Bouché qui en est le pasteur. A Zacchia à différentes distances sont deux églises et deux congrégations très considérables qui ont été desservies longtemps par M. David, Sulpicien, actuellement directeur

ST. MARY'S COUNTY

This county has a large number of Catholics, but they are scattered in various places. It was in this county that Lord Baltimore settled on his arrival in America together with those who had come from Europe with him. The county is located on the peninsula lying between the Potomac and the Patuxent. Here may be seen the Carroll mission of which Mr. Périgny, a European Frenchman, doctor of the Sorbonne and librarian of the Baltimore Library, is pastor. The Church (or chapel) was built by Mr. Carroll on his estate ; hence the reason why the mission is named after him.

CHARLES COUNTY

This county is situated on the western shore of Maryland between the Potomac and the Patuxent. Its chief town is Port Tobacco, on a river of the same name. There is a church with a mission in a village called St. Thomas, another [church] at Newport, and a post-town three leagues from Port Tobacco. Mr. Pasquier is in charge of the congregation ; there is another at Pam-maky [Pammunky], of which Mr. Bushe is the pastor. At Zacchia, in different directions, there are two very important missions which were attended for a long time by Mr. David, a Sulpician, at present director and prof-

et professeur au séminaire de Baltimore. C'est M. Angier qui l'a remplacé. Ces églises sont fort jolies et bien fournies d'ornemens. Le presbytère est très commode.

COMTÉ DE PRINCE GEORGE

Dans ce comté je connais deux églises et deux congrégations. M. Fenwick est prêtre de l'église de Matoumenet, M. Vergner, desservant de l'église ou congrégation de Malberry ou Greenill.

COMTÉ DE MONTGOMERY

Il est situé sur la rivière Potowmack à 4 lieues de Georgetown, est la *court house* ou la cour de justice. On voit dans ce comté deux églises et deux congrégations, l'une à Severn prenant son nom d'une petite rivière sur laquelle ce petit village est situé. M. Planquet en est le prestre, il est aussi chargé de deux ou trois autres congrégations voisines.

essor at the Baltimore seminary. He was replaced by Mr. Angier. The churches are very handsome and well furnished with vestments. The presbytery is quite commodious.

PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY

I know of two churches and two missions in this county. Mr. Fenwick is priest in charge of Matoumet [Matawomman], Mr. Vergner is in charge of the church or mission of Malberry [Marlboro], or Greenill [Green Hill].

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

This county is situated along the Potomac River four leagues from Georgetown and is the county-seat. There are two churches and two missions in the county, one at Severn which gets its name from the little river upon which the village is situated. M. Planquet is pastor, and he also has charge of two or three other neighboring missions.

COMTÉ DE FRÉDÉRICK

Ce comté à la Pensylvanie au nord, à l'ouest et nord-ouest Washington, à l'est Baltimore, au sud-ouest le Potowmac. Ce pays est très riche et très peuplé. On y a découvert des mines de cuivre. Frederictown en est la capitale située sur la petite rivière Carroll. Les rues sont allignées et se coupent à angles droits. On compte au moins 700 maisons, la plupart en pierre et en brique, dont plusieurs sont très belles et très commodes. On y voit une église pour les presbytériens, deux pour les allemands calvinistes et luthériens, une pour les anabaptistes, et une pour les catholiques romains qui n'est pas finie et qu'on appelle l'église de St-Jean. Elle est bien belle. M. Dubois, prêtre françois européen, est le prêtre de cette église et congrégation, et chargé de deux ou trois autres, dont l'une appelée Hannenbourg sera peut-être dans peu la résidence du prêtre que nous venons de nommer. Taneytown est une autre ville de ce comté assez peuplée. Il y a une fort belle église et un presbytère. M. Zocchi, prêtre italien, Romain de la nouvelle compagnie des Jésuites d'Italie, y fait sa résidence et y multiplie le troupeau par la conversion de plusieurs protestants. Sa congrégation est composée d'américains et d'allemands, et il a plusieurs autres missions à desservir même assez éloignées, et d'autres voisines. C'est lui qui est chargé de la congrégation de Winchester où il a bâti une très belle église, ayant un assez grand nombre de maisons très belles, très commodes. On y voit une court-house, une prison, une église des presbytériens, une autre des méthodistes, une autre comme nous

FREDERICK COUNTY

This county adjoins Pennsylvania on its northern side, Washington on the west and north-west, Baltimore on the east, with the Potomac on the south-west. This country is very prosperous and thickly populated. Copper mines have been discovered here. The capital is Fredericktown situated on Carroll Creek.⁴⁰ Its streets are regular and intersect at right angles. There are at least 700 houses here, the greater part built of brick, some of them large and stylish. It has several churches, one Presbyterian, two German Reformed, one Baptist, and one Roman Catholic dedicated to St. John, well built but not quite completed. Mr. Dubois, a European Frenchman, is pastor of this church and mission and has charge of two or three others of which the one called Hannelsburg will perhaps be the residence of the above named priest. Taneytown is another town in this county, which has considerable population. It has a very fine church and presbytery. Mr. Zocchi, an Italian priest, a Roman, of the new Italian Company of the Jesuits,⁴¹ resides here and his flock is rapidly increasing owing to the conversion of several Protestants. His congregation is composed of Americans and Germans. He has several outlying missions, some of them quite distant. He also is in charge of the congregation at Winchester where he has built a fine church. This town has a large number of stylish houses. It has a court-house, a prison, one Presbyterian Church, one Methodist, and as we have said one Roman

avons dit des Romains Catholiques. Elle contient près de 400 maisons et dans les environs sont un grand nombre de Catholiques, dans les campagnes beaucoup plus que partout ailleurs, et communément bons cultivateurs. La petite rivière Opekon, sur laquelle elle est située, se jette dans la rivière Potowmac, environ à 24 lieues de Washington.

Une chose très remarquable à ajouter, c'est que les habitants de ces deux villes, catholiques et protestants, voulant avoir un prêtre catholique à résidence souscrivirent tous pour lui fournir une pension ou revenu honnête. Ce fut M. Smith, prince russe dont nous parlerons dans la suite, qui y fut envoyé. Les protestants ont toujours continué d'être les bons amis de son successeur M. Zocchi, et ils se convertissent.

Catholic. It has nearly 400 houses. There are quite a number of Catholics in the neighborhood ; they are more numerous in the country district than elsewhere, and usually good farmers. Opekon Creek on which it is situated empties into the Potomac about 24 leagues from Washington. A rather remarkable thing to add is that the people of this town, both Catholic and Protestant alike, subscribed a salary for the Catholic priest so that he could reside there. Mr. Smith, a Russian prince, of whom we shall speak later was sent there as pastor. Protestants have ever continued to be friendly towards his successor, Mr. Zocchi, and many of them have become converts.⁴²

COMTÉ DE WASHINGTON

Le comté de Washington est sur le bord de la Chesapeake à l'ouest, au nord il est borné par la Pensylvanie, à l'est par le comté de Frederick dont il est divisé par des montagnes, au sud-ouest par le Potowmac qui le sépare de la Virginie. On l'appelle le jardin du Maryland, parcequ'il renferme la vallée si fertile, si riche, et si bien cultivée de Conwago ou Conocheague. On y trouve des mines de fer. On y a construit des forges ou l'on fabrique le fer en barres. La ville capitale est Elisabethtown, autrefois appelée Hagerstown, et plus connue maintenant sous ce dernier nom. Cette ville est régulière et les rues bien allignées. On y compte 300 maisons et plusieurs églises, une pour les épiscopaux, une pour les presbytériens, une pour les allemands luthériens, et une pour les catholiques romains. M. Duhamel, prêtre français, missionnaire de l'Amérique Méridionale et directeur du séminaire du St-Esprit de Paris, en est le pasteur. Il a plusieurs congrégations ou missions voisines à desservir.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Washington county is situated on the west bank of the Chesapeake. It is bounded on the north by the State of Pennsylvania, on the east by Frederick County from which it is divided by a mountain range, on the south-west by the Potomac which separates it from Virginia. This country is called the garden of Maryland as it comprises the fertile, rich, and well cultivated valley of Conewago or Conococheague. It boasts of several iron mines : and furnaces for the manufacture of bar iron are in course of construction. The chief town is Elizabethtown, formerly known as Hagers-town, and even now is better known under this name. The town is well built and it has well laid out streets. It has 300 houses and several churches, one Episcopalian, one Presbyterian, one German Lutheran, and one Roman Catholic. Mr. Duhamel, a French priest, missionary of southern America and director of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris, is the pastor. He has several other congregations or missions in the vicinity to attend.

CATALOGUE DES PRÊTRES CATHOLIQUES DANS LES ÉTATS UNIS

LE MARYLAND

M. Jean Carroll, évêque de Baltimore et de tous les États Unis d'Amérique.

M. Leonard Neale, coadjuteur évêque *in partibus infidelium*, de Gortyna en Crète, aujourd'hui Candie.

M. François Beeston, vicaire général, curé de l'église cathédrale de St Pierre à Baltimore, secrétaire de M. l'Evêque et de la bibliothèque publique.

SÉMINAIRE

M. Nagot, vicaire général et supérieur du Séminaire et Collège de St Sulpice à Baltimore et à Pigeonhill.

M. Tessier, vice-supérieur, directeur du Séminaire, procureur et professeur de Théologie.

M. David, directeur du Séminaire et professeur de Philosophie.

M. Babad, prêtre du Séminaire, administrateur et professeur au Collège de Ste-Marie et St-Sulpice à Baltimore.

M. Flaget, prêtre de St-Sulpice, administrateur du même Collège.

M. Dubourg, président du même collège et premier administrateur, prêtre de St-Sulpice.

M. Pasquier, prêtre français, vice président, administrateur, professeur d'éloquence et de Physique expérimentale au dit Collège.

LIST OF CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

MARYLAND

Mr. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore and all the United States of America.

Mr. Leonard Neale, Coadjutor-Bishop, Bishop of Gortyna in Crete, now Candia, *in partibus infidelium*.

Mr. Francis Beeston Vicar-General, rector of St. Peter's Cathedral Church in Baltimore, secretary to the Bishop and the Public Library.

THE SEMINARY

Mr. Nagot, vicar-general and superior of the Seminary and College of St. Sulpice at Baltimore and at Pigeon Hill.

Mr. Tessier, vice-superior, director of the Seminary, procurator and professor of Theology.

Mr. David, director of the Seminary and professor of Philosophy.

Mr. Babad, priest of the Seminary, trustee and professor of St. Mary's College and of St. Sulpice at Baltimore.

Mr. Flaget, priest of St. Sulpice, trustee of the same college.

Mr. Du Bourg, president of the same College and senior trustee, priest of St. Sulpice.

Mr. Pasquier, a French priest, vice-president, trustee, professor of oratory and experimental Physics at the same College.

M. Moranvillé, prêtre françois, missionnaire¹⁷ du Séminaire du St-Esprit de Paris, curé de Fell's Pointe à Baltimore.

M. Mutz, prêtre allemand, supérieur, curé missionnaire de l'église de St-Jean des allemands à Baltimore.

M. Périgny, prêtre françois, docteur de Sorbonne, gardien de la bibliothèque publique à Baltimore et missionnaire de la congrégation Carroll.

M. Molyneux, vicaire général et provincial des Jésuites des États Unis.

M. François Neale, président du Collège de Georgetown et curé missionnaire Jésuites.

M. Mathieu, vice-président du dit Collège, maître des novices Jésuites et curé missionnaire de Washington.

M. Kautman, Jésuite, M. Epiont, Jésuite; M. Plunket, curé missionnaire de Bladensburg près Georgetown.

M. Paylet, curé missionnaire de St-Thomas et de Newport dans le comté de St-Charles.

M. Angier, curé missionnaire des deux églises et congrégation de Zacchia dans le même comté.

M. Bushe, curé françois missionnaire de Pammaky dans le même comté.

M. Fenwick, curé missionnaire de Matawowman dans le comté de Prince George.

M. Vergner, prêtre françois, curé missionnaire de Malberry ou Greenil dans le même comté.

M. Planquet, curé missionnaire de Severn et de deux ou trois autres congrégations dans le comté de Montgomery.

M. Dubois, prêtre françois, curé missionnaire de Frédéricktown et de quatre autres congrégations dans le même comté.

M. Zocchi, prêtre de Rome en Italie, curé et missionnaire de Taneytown et de Winchester dans le même comté, de Carlisle dans le comté de Cumberland et d'autres congrégations.

Mr. Moranvillé, a French priest, missionary of the Holy Ghost, of Paris, rector of Fell's point at Baltimore.

Mr. Mutz [Merx], a German priest, superior, missionary rector of the German Church of St. John in Baltimore.

Mr. Périgny, a French priest, doctor of the Sorbonne, curator of the Public Library at Baltimore and missionary at Carroll's Manor.

Mr. Molyneux. vicar-general and Provincial of the Jesuits in the United States.

Mr. Francis Neale, president of Georgetown College and missionary rector of the Jesuits.

Mr. Matthews, vice-président of the above College, master of novices of the Jesuits and missionary rector of Washington.

Mr. Kautman [Kohlmann], a Jesuit, Mr. Epionet [Epinette], a Jesuit, Mr. Plunket, missionary rector of Bladensburg near Georgetown.

Mr. Paylet, missionary rector of St. Thomas and Newport in Charles County.

Mr. Angier, missionary rector of two churches and congregation at Zacchia in the same county.

Mr. Bushe, French missionary rector of Pammaky in the same county.

Mr. Fenwick, missionary rector of Matawowman in the county of Prince George.

Mr. Vergner, a French priest, rector of Malberry or Greenil in the same county.

Mr. Plunket, missionary rector of Severn and two or three other missions in the county of Montgomery.

Mr. Dubois, a French priest, missionary rector of Fredericktown and four other congregations in the same county.

Mr. Zocchi, a priest of Rome, Italy, missionary rector of Taneytown and Winchester in the same county and Carlisle in the county of Cumberland, and of other congregations.

M. Duhamel, prêtre françois du Séminaire du St-Esprit de Paris, curé missionnaire de Hagerstown ou Elisabethtown.

M. Pasquier, jésuite, curé missionnaire de Bohemie et autres congrégations dans le comté de Cécile.

M. Duvoisier, prêtre françois venant de St Dominique, curé missionnaire de Ste-Marie et autres congrégations dans le comté de Talbot et Reine Anne.

M. Monely, curé missionnaire de St-Joseph dans le susdit comté et autres congrégations.

PENNSYLVANIE

M. Mathieu Carr, père augustin françois, curé de l'église de St-Augustin à Philadelphie.

M. Hogan, curé de l'église de Ste-Marie à Philadelphie.

M. Rossiter, curé de la petite église de Ste-Marie à Philadelphie.

M. Brit, Jésuite allemand européen, curé de l'église de la Ste-Trinité des allemands à Philadelphie. Ces prêtres sont aussi missionnaires pour les églises et les congrégations des environs.

M. Adams, curé et missionnaire de Reading et Cathoopen, dans le comté de Berks.

M. Brosius, prêtre françois-allemand de Luxembourg, président d'un collège à Philadelphie.

M. Stock, prêtre allemand, curé missionnaire de Lancaster, d'Elisabethtown, Middletown, Harrisburg, Sunbury, etc. ; il n'y est pas dans ce moment.

M. Barth, prêtre françois allemand, curé missionnaire de Conewago, de Petersbourg, d'York, d'Hanover, d'Abbesbourg, et autres congrégations allemandes.

Mr. Duhamel, a French priest of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris, missionary rector of Hagerstown, or Elisabethtown.

Mr. Pasquier, a Jesuit, missionary rector of Bohemia and of other congregations in Cecil County.

Mr. Duvoisier, a French priest from St. Domingo, missionary rector of St. Mary's and other congregations in the counties of Talbot and Queen Anne.

Mr. Monely, missionary rector of St. Joseph's in the above mentioned county and of other congregations.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Matthew Carr, a French [Irish] Augustinian Father, rector of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia.

Mr. Hogan, rector of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia.

Mr. Rossiter [Rosseter], rector of the small St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia.

Mr. Brit [Britt], a European German Jesuit, rector of the German Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. These priests are also missionaries for other churches and congregation in the environs.

Mr. Adams, rector and missionary of Reading and Cathoepen in the county of Berks.

Mr. Brosius, a French-German priest from Luxemburg, president of a College in Philadelphia.

Mr. Stock, a German priest, missionary rector of Lancaster, Elisabethtown, Middletown, Harrisburg, etc. He is not there just now.

Mr. Barth [De Barth], a French-German priest, missionary, rector of Conewago, Petersburg, York, Hanover, Abbesburg and other German congregations.

SÉMINAIRE DE PIGEON HILL

M. Nagot, supérieur de St-Sulpice ; M. Schaffer, allemand européen et ancien séminariste de Baltimore ; M. Lipp, allemand, ancien séminariste de Baltimore, tous deux professeurs de ce petit séminaire.

M. Phelan, prêtre irlandais, curé missionnaire à Chambersbourg et dans d'autres congrégations dans le comté de Franklin.

M. Smith, prince Gallitzin, russe allemand, curé missionnaire de Clearfield et autres congrégations dans le comté d'Huntingdon.

M. Hilown, prêtre irlandais de Greensbourg et Pittsburg et autres congrégations dans le comté Westmoreland.

NOUVELLE YORK

M. Obrian, curé de l'église de St-Pierre à New York. Il a pour vicaire M. Hurley.

Vianney, carme français, et Mon. Cibourg, prêtre français venant de St-Domingue.

M. Byrns, curé missionnaire d'Albany, de Schenectady et autres congrégations.

M. Kelly, qui y étoit auparavant, a quitté cette place.

M. Matignon, prêtre français, docteur de Sorbonne, professeur de la langue hébraïque, ou chaire d'Orléans, curé missionnaire de l'église de Ste-Croix à Boston.

M. Chevreux, prêtre français, son vicaire, est chargé des congrégations voisines.

M. Romagné, curé missionnaire de Passamaquoddy principalement composée de sauvages catholiques.

SEMINARY OF PIGEON HILL

Mr. Nagot, Superior of St. Sulpice ; Mr. Schaffer, a European German and former seminarian of Baltimore ; Mr. Lipp, a German, formerly seminarian of Baltimore, both professors in this little seminary.

Mr. Phelan, an Irish priest, missionary rector of Chambersburg and other congregations in the county of Franklin.

Mr. Smith, Prince Gallitzin, a Russian German, rector of Clearfield and other congregations in Huntingdon county.

Mr. Hilown [Heilbron], an Irish [German] priest, of Greensburg and Pittsburg and other congregations in Westmoreland county.

NEW YORK

Mr. Obrian [O'Brien], rector of St. Peters' Church, New York, with Mr. Hurley as curate.

Vianney, a French Carmelite, and Mr. Cibourg [Sibourd], a French priest from St. Domingo.

Mr. Byrns [Byrne], missionary rector of Albany, Shenectady, and other congregations.

Mr. Kelly, who had formely been there, has left the place.

Mr. Matignon, a French priest, doctor of the Sorbonne, professor of Hebrew or Homelitics, of Orleans, missionary rector of Holy Cross Church, Boston.

Mr. Chevreux [Cheverus], a French priest, his cura , and in charge of the congregations in the vicinity.

Mr. Romagné, missionary rector of Passamaquoddy chiefly composed of Catholic Indians.

VIRGINIE

M. Lacy, prêtre irlandois, curé missionnaire de Norfolk, Portsmouth, et autres congrégations.

M. Jouly, curé missionnaire de la ville d'Alexandrie.

M. Bitouzet, curé missionnaire de White Marsh et autres congrégations. Il est françois européen.

KENTUKEY

M. Badin, prêtre françois de Benediton et missionnaire de tout l'état de Kentukey. M. Nerix, prêtre allemand, vicaire missionnaire du précédent.

M. le père Urbain, supérieur de la Trappe, dit Guillet.

M. Flint, prêtre de la Trappe, ancien séminariste, missionnaire des États Unis.

M. Langlois, ancien prêtre du Canada et aumônier des religieuses hospitalières.

M. le père Joseph, nouvellement arrivé de l'Europe.

M. Guéry, prêtre françois, bénédictin.

Trois Pères de l'ordre de St-Dominique, fondateurs et directeurs d'un collège dans le Kentukey.

TERRITOIRE MICHIGAN

M. Richard, prêtre françois, de la compagnie de St-Sulpice, curé missionnaire du Détroit, de la Rivière aux Raisins, de Michilimackinack et de tout le territoire.

LE TERRITOIRE INDIANA

M. Olivier, l'aîné, prêtre françois, curé missionnaire du Poste Vincennes, de Kaskias, de Kaskakias, de la Prairie du Rocher et de tout le territoire.

VIRGINIA

Mr. Lacy, an Irish priest, missionary rector of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and other congregations.

Mr. Jouly, missionary rector of Alexandria.

Mr. Bitouzey, missionary rector of Whitemarsh and other congregations. He is a European Frenchman.

KENTUCKY

Mr. Badin, a French Priest of Benediton and missionary for the whole State of Kentucky, Mr. Nerix [Nerinckx], a German Belgian priest, missionary curate of the preceding.

Father Urban, *dit* Guillet, Superior of the Trappists.

Mr. Flint, a Trappist priest, former seminarian, missionary in the United States.

Mr. Langlois, formerly priest in Canada and chaplain of the Hospital Sisters.

Father Joseph, recently from Europe.

Mr. Guéry, a French Benedictine priest.

Three Fathers of the Dominican Order, founders and directors of a college in Kentucky.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY

Mr. Richard, a French priest, of the Company of St. Sulpice, missionary rector of Detroit, Raisin River Michilimackinack and the whole territory.

INDIANA TERRITORY

Mr. Olivier, senior, a French priest, missionary rector of the Post Vincennes, Kaskias [Cahokia], Kaskakia [Kaskaskia], Prairie du Rocher and the whole territory.

LA HAUTE LOUISIANE

M. Maxwell venant de mourir à St-Louis. M. ———
successeur de M. Lusson à Ste-Geneviève ayant quitté
sa place, je pense que ce territoire n'a pas de prêtre.

NOUVELLE ORLÉANS

M. Olivier, le jeune vicaire général, prêtre françois,
curé de la Nouvelle Orleans et autres congrégations.

M. L'Espinasse, prêtre françois, vicaire et missionnaire
pour la Nouvelle Orléans et autres congrégations
comme Natchitoches.

Le père Antoine de l'ordre de St-Dominique y exerce
ses fonctions sans pouvoirs; il les avoit du temps de
l'évêque espagnol.

M. Elling, prêtre allemand, étoit il y a peu de temps
curé de l'église de Ste-Trinité à Philadelphie; il a cédé
sa place à M. Brit, Jésuite, dont nous avons fait mention
plus haut.

TERRITOIRE DE MISSISSIPPI

M. Boutin, prêtre françois, curé missionnaire à Nat-
chez et à toutes les congrégations du territoire.

NEW CASTLE

New Castle est sur la rivière du Damiscotti dans la
province de Maine. Cette mission a été établie par M.
Chevreux, prêtre françois résidant à Boston. Deux

UPPER LOUISIANA

Mr. Maxwell having died at St. Louis and Mr.—— successor of Mr. Lusson at St. Genevieve having left the place, I think that there is no priest in the territory.

NEW ORLEANS

Mr. Olivier, junior, Vicar-General, a French priest, parish priest of New Orleans and other congregations.

Mr. L'Espinasse, a French priest, curate and missionary for New Orleans and other congregations such as Natchitoches.

Father Anthony of the Dominican [Capuchin] Order, exercises the ministry there without faculties. He had them during the time of the Spanish bishop.

Mr. Elling, a German priest, was some time ago rector of the Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, but gave up the place to Mr. Brit [Britt], a Jesuit of whom mention is made above.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY

Mr. Boutin, a French priest, missionary rector at Natchez and serving all the congregations of the territory.

NEWCASTLE

Newcastle is located on the Damariscotta River in the Province of Maine. This mission was established by Mr. Cheverus, a French priest residing at Boston.⁴³

Irlandois catholiques étant venus s'y établir demandèrent à M. Chevreux de venir les visiter et de lui (leur) procurer des consolations de leur(son) ministère. Ce qui leur fut accordé. Plusieurs catholiques voisins se réunirent et plusieurs protestants y venant par curiosité se convertirent. Bientôt la congrégation monta au nombre de 200 catholiques. On a fait d'abord une chapelle d'un grand magasin, mais à présent ces deux irlandois fondateurs de la congrégation étant devenus riches font bâtir à leur frais une très belle église, un presbytère et donnent quelques terres pour l'usage du prêtre.

Passamaquoddy est une mission de sauvages quisont au nombre de deux cents. Il y a aussi quelques familles catholiques établies aux environs. Ces sauvages ont été convertis à la religion par les jésuites, et depuis la destruction des jésuites quoiqu'ils n'aient eu que quelques missions par intervalle ils sont très attachés à la religion, et en ont toujours observé les pratiques. Lorsqu'ils surent qu'il y avoit des prêtres catholiques à Boston, ils y envoyèrent une députation pour les inviter à venir les visiter. M. Chevreux y alla plusieurs fois et y reçut de grandes consolations ; mais ne pouvant continuer ses visites ni les faire avec le même fruit qu'un prêtre résident, il fit venir de Londres M. Romagné son ami qui depuis y a résidé, ou à Penobscot dans le voisinage, a appris leur langue et y vit très content parmi eux. La législature de Massachussetts lui a assigné une pension de neuf cents livres, a donné 15 cents livres pour bâtir une église en bois qui vient d'être achevée et encore une ferme avec une maison curiale. M. Romagné a travaillé et réussit à civiliser ces sauvages en leur apprenant à labourer, à tisser, etc.

Two Irish Catholics having settled there, asked Mr. Cheverus to come visit them and give them the benefit of his ministry. This was granted them. Several Catholics in the neighborhood gathered there and some Protestants coming out of curiosity became converted, so that the congregation soon numbered 200 Catholics. In the beginning they transformed a large store into a chapel, but at present two Irishmen, the founders of the mission, having become wealthy, are building at their own expense a very fine church, a presbytery and are giving a tract of land for the use of the priest.

Passamaquoddy is an Indian mission numbering about two hundred Indians. There are also several Catholic families settled in the neighborhood. These Indians were converted to the faith by the Jesuits and since the destruction of the Jesuit mission, though they have had but few missions at various intervals, they are deeply attached to the faith and have always kept up their religious practices. When they became aware that there were Catholic priests in Boston, they sent a delegation to invite them to come and visit them. Mr. Cheverus went there several times and was very deeply impressed ; but as he was unable to continue his visits and as he realized that such visits could not be so fruitful in results as if there were a resident priest there, he brought his friend, Mr. Romagné from London, who has since resided either there or at Penobscot, in the vicinity. He learned their language and lives there quite contentedly. The Legislature of Massachusetts gave him a salary of nine hundred *livres* and a grant of 15 hundred *livres* to build a wooden church which has just been completed, and, in addition, a farm with a parochial residence. Mr. Romagné was most energetic and succeeded in civilising the Indians by teaching them to till the land, to weave, etc.⁴

COMTÉ DE HARFORD

Ce comté a au nord le comté d'York en Pensylvanie, à l'est la rivière Susquehanna et le Chesapeake. Les principales rivières qui sont dans ce pays sont la rivière Bush ou buisson et la rivière Deer ou du chevreuil sur laquelle on compte 16 moulins de différentes sortes ; c'est sur ces rivières que se trouvent les villes de Harford, d'Abington, de Coopstown et de Bel Air qui est la capitale. Les autres villes sont le Havre de Grâce et Essex, à l'embouchure du Susquehanna; c'est sur la rivière Deer ou Deer Creek, c'est-à-dire du chevreuil, qu'il y a une église catholique avec des terres pour l'entretien du prêtre et une assez grande congrégation. Nous ne connaissons pas le prêtre de cette église.

COMTÉ D'ALLEGHANY

Ce comté est le plus occidental du (Maryland) et est borné au nord par la Pensylvanie. Les détours sinueux du Potowmac le séparent de la Virginie au sud, la rivière Sidelinghill le sépare du comté de Washington à l'est. Cumberland est la ville capitale. C'est au fort Cumberland, ville de plus de cents maisons et placée sur la rivière Will, qu'est une église catholique nouvellement bâtie et une congrégation très étendue, principalement dans les environs et dans la campagne. C'est monsieur Schmidt qui en est le pasteur. Son véritable nom est le prince Galitzin, fils du fameux Galitzin

HARFORD COUNTY

This county is bounded on the north by York County in Pennsylvania, on the east by the Susquehanna River and the Chesapeake. The principal rivers in this section are the Bush or Buisson and Deer Creek on which are to be found 16 different kinds of mills. Harford, Abingdon, Coopstown and Bel Air [the capital] are situated on these rivers. The others towns are Havre de Grâce and Essex at the mouth of the Susquehanna. There is a Catholic Church on Deer Creek with a farm for the maintenance of the priest, with a good sized congregation. We do not know the priest who attends it.⁴⁵

ALLEGHANY COUNTY

This is the most westerly county in Maryland, with Pennsylvania as its northern boundary. The sinuous windings of the Potomac separate it from Virginia, on the south, and the Sidelinghill separates it from Washington County on the east. Cumberland is the chief town. At Fort Cumberland, a town of more than a hundred houses situated on the river Will, there is a Catholic Church recently erected, with a congregation of considerable size chiefly in the outskirts and in the country. Mr. Schmidt is the pastor. His real name is Prince Gallitzin, son of the celebrated Prince Gallitzin, the

ministre favori de Catherine impératrice de Russie, si connu par ses ambassades et ses emplois militaires. Ce prince a renoncé généreusement à toutes les espérances du siècle, et ayant embrassé l'état ecclésiastique en Amérique où il était avec sa mère, il a fait son séminaire chez les messieurs de St-Sulpice à Baltimore. Après qu'il eut reçu la prêtrise, il fut envoyé dans une mission allemande qu'on appelle de Conewago, de là à Taneytown qu'il quitta pour suivre un grand nombre de ses paroissiens, qui se proposaient de faire un établissement dans le comté d'Alleghany. Il les suivit, les dirigea dans cet établissement dont il est le vrai fondateur, y bâtit une église qui se trouva bientôt trop petite. Il fallut l'agrandir il le fit, mais cet agrandissement n'a pas encore suffi et je l'ai vu au moment de mon départ d'Amérique concertant avec Monsieur l'Evêque le moyen de bâtir une nouvelle église sur un plan plus vaste. Il m'a témoigné avant d'aller rejoindre sa congrégation qu'il y avait réussi au delà de ses espérances, et qu'il avait tous les moyens nécessaires pour exécuter son projet. Sa congrégation est principalement composée d'irlandois qu'il a fallu pour ainsi dire civiliser et qui ne lui fournissent pas et qui ne peuvent lui fournir un entretien honnête. Une pension qu'il reçoit de sa famille — et qu'il reçoit trop peu exactement — est la seule source qu'il a pour fournir à ses besoins et à ceux de ses paroissiens dont il est le père. Ce détail n'est pas étranger à notre dessein et ne peut sans doute qu'édifier tous ceux qui le liront avec réflexion.

COMTÉ DE CÉCILE

Le comté de Cécile est du côté oriental de la Chesapeake renfermant 10,000 habitans dont plus de 2,000

trusted minister of Catherine, Empress of Russia, so well known for his diplomatic and military career. This prince renounced the allurements of the world, and having come to America with his mother, he embraced the clerical life and made his ecclesiastical studies with the Sulpicians at Baltimore. After his ordination he was sent to the German mission called Conewago, and from there to Taneytown, which he left to follow a large number of his parishoners who proposed to found a settlement in Alleghany county. He accompanied them and directed them in these settlements, of which he must be regarded as the actual founder. He built a church in this locality, which was soon found to be too small. It became necessary to enlarge it, and even then the building was inadequate; and when I was leaving America I saw him discussing with the Bishop ways and means for the erection of a new church on a large scale. He told me, when about to leave for his mission, that he had succeeded beyond his most ardent hopes and that he had the means necessary to bring his project to a successful issue. His congregation is made up chiefly of Irish folk whom he had to civilize so to speak, were unable to render him any assistance and could not give him an adequate living. An allowance from his family (which he does not receive very regularly) is the only means he has of eking out an existence and providing for the needs of his parishoners. These details are not irrelevant to our purpose, and cannot but serve to edify all who read them carefully.¹³

CECIL COUNTY

Cecil County is on the east side of the Chesapeake, and has 10,000 inhabitants of whom more than 2,000

sont esclaves. Bohémia, rivière navigable, a donné le nom à une plantation appartenant aux jésuites du Maryland, et où il s'est formée une congrégation. Il y a une église et un presbytère. Monsieur Pasquier en est le pasteur, auparavant c'étoit Mons. Maréchal, prêtre de St-Sulpice, parce que cette plantation avoit été accordée aux prêtres de St-Sulpice à condition qu'ils donneroient un prêtre pour le service de la Congrégation et se chargeroient de son entretien. Cette plantation a été soigneusement réparée par M. Maréchal et mise en bon état ; mais les messieurs de St-Sulpice, ne voulant pas sacrifier un des leurs pour le service d'une congrégation les croyant tous nécessaires à l'établissement du séminaire, ont remis la plantation entre les mains des jésuites qui sont actuellement chargés du service spirituel de cette congrégation.

COMTÉ DE TALBOT

Ce comté, qui est aussi sur le bord oriental de la Chesapeake, est borné à l'est par la rivière Chesapeake qui le sépare du comté de St-Charles, au sud par la même rivière qui le sépare de Dorchester. On y compte 15 mille habitans dont cinq mille sont esclaves. Dans un endroit appelé St. Mary est une église et congrégation dont M. Duvoisier, ancien prêtre de St-Dominique, est pasteur. Il y est très estimé et honoré selon ses mérites et ses talents distingués. Il a été autrefois officier dans les troupes du Roi de France Louis XVI.

are slaves. A navigable river called the Bohemia gives the name to a plantation belonging to the Jesuits of Maryland where a congregation has been organized. There is a mission here with a church and a presbytery. The pastor is Mr. Pasquier.⁴⁷ The former pastor was Mr. Maréchal, priest of St. Sulpice for the plantation had been entrusted to the priests of St. Sulpice on condition that they should furnish a priest as the congregation and be responsible for its maintenance. The plantation was carefully repaired by Mr. Maréchal and put in excellent condition; but the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice being unwilling to allow one of their members to engage in parochial work, believing that all of them were needed in establishing the Seminary, returned the plantation to the Jesuits who at the moment are attending to the spiritual needs of the mission.

TALBOT COUNTY

This county, which is also on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, is bounded on the east by the Chesapeake which separates it from St. Charles county, and south by the same river, which divides it from Dorchester. It numbers 15 thousand inhabitants of whom five thousand are slaves. At a place called St. Mary's.⁴⁸ there is a church with a mission of which Mr. Duvoisier, formerly a priest of St. Domingo, is pastor. He is highly esteemed there for his worth and great ability. ¶ He was formerly an officer in the army of Louis XVI, King of France.

COMTÉ DE QUEEN ANNE

Le comté de Queen Anne ou de la Reine Anne est borné à l'ouest par la Chesapeake, au nord par le comté de Kent et contient environ 15 mille habitans dont 700 esclaves. La ville capitale est Centreville. Dans un lieu appelé St-Joseph il y a une église et une congrégation dont le prêtre est M. Monely.

Avant de passer à la Pensylvanie nous ajouterons ici quelques mots sur un établissement très favorable à la religion dans tous les États Unis, mais spécialement dans le Maryland, c'est une bibliothèque publique dont M. l'Évêque a conçu le plan et qu'il a si bien exécuté par souscriptions et actions. Il est vrai que son objet est général et embrasse toutes les sciences et tout genre de littérature, mais il n'est pas douteux que M. l'Évêque ayant été jusqu'ici président de l'assemblée des administrateurs et directeurs, M. Beeston curé de St-Pierre secrétaire de cette administration, M. Périgny docteur de Sorbonne bibliothécaire, sa direction tourne au plus grand avantage de la religion catholique dont les livres servant à la preuve de la vérité de sa doctrine se multiplient dans les mains des différents individus. Car on ne se contente pas de lire les livres à la salle de la bibliothèque, on prête les livres moyennant une certaine somme pour tous les lecteurs de l'union. Les parents viennent souvent demander à M. Périgny, quoiqu'ils soient protestants, de ne prêter aucuns livres à leurs enfants qui ne soient de son choix et les plus convenables à leur éducation. M. Périgny profite de cette confiance qu'il s'est généralement acquise pour ne mettre que de bons livres entre les mains de la jeunesse, et souvent des livres catholiques qu'ils ne refusent pas de lire. Cette bibliothèque s'accroît tous les ans

QUEEN ANNE COUNTY

Queen Anne county is bounded on the west by the Chesapeake, and north by the county of Kent and has 15 thousand people of whom 700 are slaves, The chief town is Centerville. At a place called St. Joseph's there is a church with a mission of which Mr. Monely is pastor.

Before passing to Pennsylvania we add a few notes regarding an institution which has been most helpful to the faith throughout the United States but especially in Maryland. This is a Public Library of which the Bishop conceived the plan and which he carried out by means of subscriptions and shares, Whilst it is true that its purpose is one of general utility and it is devoted to science and literature generally, it cannot be doubted that it redounds to the advantage of the Catholic religion, for the Bishop has been until now president of the Board of Directors. Mr. Beeston, pastor of St. Peter's, is secretary, Mr. Périgny, Doctor of Sorbonne, librarian, and the books treating of Catholic truth and doctrine are multiplying in the hands of different individuals. The members are not content with reading books in the Library, but take them on loan by paying a small fee. Even Protestant parents often request Mr. Périgny not to lend books to their children which he would consider educationally unsuitable for them. M. Périgny takes advantages of the confidence reposed in him to put only good books into the hands of the young folk, and frequently provides them with Catholic books which they usually read. The Library is augmented by

par la somme de dix écus que les actionnaires payent tous les ans, par celle qu'ils ont donnée en premier lieu comme actionnaires, et par l'argent qui revient du prêt des livres. La salle de la bibliothèque quoique vaste est déjà assez remplie, et quoique nouvelle on y compte dix mille volumes.

Personne qui ne voie maintenant combien cet établissement est utile à la religion et aux bonnes mœurs. M. l'Évêque dans la première séance publique félicita les habitans de Baltimore, du Maryland et de tous les états voisins du zèle qu'il avoit remarqué dans les jeunes gens pour demander des livres de loi, de sciences et de bonne littérature, et que le nombre de lecteurs ayant accru dans cette année qui venoit de s'écouler, il avoit lieu de concevoir de grandes espérances pour le progrès des sciences et de la bonne littérature dans les États Unis. Il ajouta quelques bonnes réflexions sur la frivolité et le danger de la lecture des romans. Tel est son zèle, tel est le fruit ; voilà en même tems un trait bien propre à nous faire connoître le principe de cette vénération et cette estime que tous les Américains ont pour l'Évêque de Baltimore.

an annual contribution of ten crowns by the shareholders, in addition to what they gave originally as stock-holders, and by funds accruing from the lending of books. The reading room of the Library though quite large is already well patronized, and though but recently established, it has ten thousand volumes. There is nobody now who does not realize how useful this institution is from a religious and cultural point of view. At the last public meeting the Bishop congratulated the people of Baltimore, Maryland, and the neighboring states on the ardor manifested by the young folks in asking for books on law, science and good literature and said that the increase in the number of readers during the past year gave him every reason to hope for a wider diffusion of scientific knowledge and good literature throughout the United States.

He added some timely advice on frivolousness and the danger of novel reading. This indicates his zeal and its results. This trait reveals to us the secret of the veneration and esteem that all classes of Americans have for the Bishop of Baltimore.⁴⁹

PENNSYLVANIE

La Pensylvanie, qui tire son nom de Guillaume Penn qui vint s'y établir avec ses quakers, et forme la figure d'un rectangle, est bornée au nord par le lac Erié et l'état de New York, à l'ouest par l'Ohio et la Virginie, au sud par la Virginie, le Maryland et la Delaware et à l'est par la Delaware, qui la sépare de la nouvelle Jersey. Le climat de la Pensylvanie est très variable, néanmoins l'hiver y est généralement très rigoureux et l'été très chaud. Ce pays est dévasté par la fièvre jaune qui tous les ans pendant l'été ou l'automne enlève un grand nombre des habitants, spécialement à Philadelphie et aux environs. Une grande partie de la Pensylvanie est montagneuse, l'autre assez variée par des plaines et des coteaux. Cet état mérite le premier rang par la fertilité du sol. Les terres y sont bien cultivées surtout par les allemands qui y sont en grand nombre. Il y vient toutes sortes de fruits en abondance, ce qui produit un grand commerce intérieur et extérieur. Les manufactures de toute espèce y sont en plus grand nombre que dans tout autre état, comme celles de fer de fusils, de scies, de bûches, de clous, de cuir, de peaux, de laine, de papier, de poudre à canon, de plomb, etc.

La population arrive à plus de six cent mille âmes dont mille au moins sont esclaves. On y voit des anglois, des irlandais, des allemands, des écossais, des hollandais, des français, des suédois et des juifs qui ont une synagogue à Philadelphie et des collèges en différentes villes. On prétend que les suédois ont été les premiers à s'établir dans la Pensylvanie. Ils y vinrent en 1672. Les suédois en cédèrent la possession aux

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, which derives its name from William Penn who came here with his Quakers to establish a settlement, forms the figure of a rectangle and is bounded on the north by Lake Erie and the State of New York, on the west by Ohio and Virginia, on the south by Virginia, Maryland and the Delaware [River] which separates it from New Jersey. The climate of Pennsylvania is subject to frequent changes, but the winter is very severe and the summer quite warm. The country is ravaged by yellow fever⁵⁰ which annually during the summer time and autumn takes heavy toll of the population, especially in Philadelphia and in the nearby places. A large part of Pennsylvania is mountainous, the rest is diversified by plains and hills. This state deserves to be ranked first [in the United States] on account of the fertility of its soil. The farms here are well tilled especially by the Germans who are settled here in large numbers. All sorts of fruits are found here in abundance, this accounts for its large domestic and external trade. There are more manufacturing plants here than in any of the other states, such as factories producing gun metal, saws, spades, nails, leather, hides, wool, paper, gunpowder, lead, etc.

It has a population of more than six hundred thousand people of which one thousand, at least, are slaves. Here you find English, Irish, Germans, Scotch, Dutch, French, Swedes, and Jews who have a synagogue in Philadelphia, and colleges in different cities. It is claimed that the first settlers in Pennsylvania were Swedes who came here in 1672. The Swedes were supplanted by the Dutch who in turn ceded the country

hollandois qui l'accordèrent aux anglois dans la paix de Breda en même temps que la Nouvelle Jersey et la Nouvelle York sous le nom de nouveaux pays bas. Charles II, roi d'Angleterre, en accorda la propriété en 1681 à Guillaume Penn, mais il ne vint en Amérique qu'en 1699. La constitution qu'il établit pour ce pays a duré jusqu'au moment de la révolution d'Amérique. Nous ne nommons pas ici les différents comtés qui la divisent, n'ayant à parler que de ceux qui ont des églises catholiques et elles y sont en assez grand nombre comme on va le voir par le détail suivant.

PHILADELPHIE

Philadelphie est la ville la plus grande des États Unis, la plus belle, la plus peuplée, et elle étoit regardée comme la capitale jusqu'en 1800 que Washington prit sa place. Elle est située entre les deux rivières : la Schuykill et la Delaware. Toutes les rues sont larges, droites, parallèles, et se coupent en angles droits. Sur la Delaware elle s'étend l'espace d'une lieue sans y comprendre les deux faubourgs du nord et du sud qui sont très longs, mais elle n'est pas si large que longue. Les maisons sont de briques et bien bâties, ordinairement à trois étages, dans un bon goût anglois. Il y a plusieurs édifices publics très beaux, comme la court-house, la maison du gouvernement, la bibliothèque qui contient plus de 12 mille volumes, l'université et académie, etc. Il y a dans cette ville 40 églises dont 4 sont catholiques, savoir l'église des augustins dont le pasteur est M. Carr, père augustin français européen venant de Toulouse, l'église de la Ste Trinité des allemands dont le pasteur est M. Brit, jésuite nou-

to the English, by the Peace of Breda, at the same time that they ceded New Jersey and New York, formerly known as New Netherlands. Charles II, King of England, granted the proprietorship of Pennsylvania to William Penn in 1681, but the latter did not come to America until 1699. The constitution which he drafted for this part of the country remained in force till the date of the American Revolution. We do not discuss the different counties as we are dealing only with those which have Catholic churches, and there are quite a number of these as we shall see by the details which follow.

PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia is the largest, finest and most populous city in the United States, and it was regarded as the capital until 1800, when Washington supplanted it. It is situated between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. All the streets are wide, straight and parallel, intersecting at right angles.

It stretches along the Delaware for one league exclusive of the southern and northern suburbs which are quite extensive. It is not so wide as it is long. The houses are of brick, well built, usually three stories high, in good English style. There are several very fine public buildings such as the Court house, the State House, the Library which contains 12 thousand volumes, the University, the Academy, etc. There are 40 churches in the city, four of which are Catholic, namely the Augustinian Church, of which Mr. Carr, Augustinian Father, a European Frenchman [Irishman], who came from Toulouse, is the pastor; the German Church of the Holy Trinity of which the pastor is Mr. Brit [Britt], a Jesuit recently

vement arrivé d'Europe, l'église de Ste-Marie dont le pasteur est M. Hogan conjointement avec M. Roseter, une église tenant à la maison des jésuites ou ils vivent en communauté avec les autres prêtres de la ville. Philadelphie est un comté qui est composé de la ville et des environs. Dans ce comté se trouve Germantown à deux lieues de Philadelphie au nord ; c'est une ville considérable n'ayant qu'une lieue de long. Il y a une église et un prêtre catholique dont je ne sais pas le nom. Je ne sais aussi l'étendue de cette congrégation. Quant à Philadelphie on estime le peuple catholique monter à 15 mille au moins, je dis au moins parce que on l'estimoit ainsi il y a plusieurs années et qu'il s'est fait et s'y fait encore plusieurs conversions de protestants et hérétiques.

Les françois y étoient en grand nombre dans le tems de la révolution françoise y étant venus de St-Dominique; leur nombre a beaucoup diminué, mais ils n'ont pas diminué le nombre de catholiques assidus aux pratiques de la religion parce que il y en avoit très peu qui donnassent les marques extérieures et qui parussent dans l'église ; au reste les églises catholiques de Philadelphie sont de belles églises, spécialement la nouvelle église des augustins, celle de Ste-Marie et celle de la Ste-Trinité des allemands.

Il y a eu une clique des prêtres allemands qui à Philadelphie comme à Baltimore n'ont pas voulu se soumettre à M. (l'Évêque). Celui-ci par son zèle et sa douceur et sa patience admirable a su l'éteindre. Il a vu venir à lui ces brebis égarées et la religion catholique n'en a été que plus éclatante aux yeux des américains. Lorsque M. l'Évêque vint à Philadelphie pour cette affaire, il s'adressa au congrès dont il fut bien reçu et bien appuyé pour ôter le scandale. Plusieurs membres du sénat lui témoignèrent le plus grand respect et la plus

arrived from Europe ; St. Mary's Church under the joint pastorate of Mr. Hogan and Mr. Rosseter ; and a Church adjoining the residence of the Jesuits where all the priests live in community.⁵¹ Philadelphia is a county made up of the city and its environs. Germantown, two leagues distant from Philadelphia is of considerable importance ; it has but a single street, one league in length. Here there is a Catholic Church but I know neither the name of the pastor nor the size of this congregation. As regards Philadelphia: it is estimated that the Catholic population is at least 15,000. I say, at least, as this was the estimate several years ago, and several conversions of protestants and heretics are being made and have been made there.

During the time of the French Revolution there were a great many French there who came from St. Domingo. The number has decreased considerably, but this does not mean that the number of practical Catholics has decreased as very few (of the refugees) ever gave any external evidence of their faith or ever appeared in church. The Catholic churches of Philadelphia are really very handsome, especially the new Augustinian Church, St. Mary's and the German Church of the Holy Trinity.

There was a clique of German Priests at Philadelphia who like their countrymen at Baltimore refused to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop. He succeeded in suppressing it by his zeal, his meekness and his admirable patience. He had the happiness of seeing the strayed sheep return to the fold, and the result was that the Americans were filled with admiration for the Catholic Church. When the Bishop came to Philadelphia to settle this difficulty he appealed to Congress by which he was favorably received and aided in his efforts to remove the scandal. Several members of the Senate treated him most deferentially

parfaite amitié. Ils se plaisoient à s'entretenir avec lui et vinrent assister avec décence et modestie aux cérémonies de la religion où présidoit l'Évêque en habits pontificaux. Le peuple suivant naturellement l'exemple de ces sénateurs, il se pénétoit de plus en plus d'un sentiment d'estime et de respect pour notre sainte religion. J'ajouterai qu'on voit à Philadelphie une église à l'usage des nègres et un ministre nègre qui les instruit et conduit. Il a été ordonné par un évêque épiscopal, parce que ils suivent la religion des anglois.

COMTÉ DE BERKS

Ce comté a pour bornes au nord le comté de Northampton, au nord ouest le Northumberland, au sud-ouest ceux de Dauphin et de Lancastre, au sud est ceux de Chester et de Montgomery. On y trouve abondamment des mines de charbon servant à différentes forges. Vers le nord il y a beaucoup de montagnes ou collines. Le comté est arrosé par la rivière Schuykill, et contient près de 40 mille habitans. Reading en est la capitale. Elle est très belle, régulièrement bâtie et habitée principalement par les allemands. Elle contient plus de 600 maisons. Il y a de beaux édifices publics, une prison de pierre, une court-house, plusieurs églises très belles, une entre autres pour les catholiques romains qui sont tous allemands, une pour les allemands luthériens, une autre pour les allemands calvinistes bâtie en 1793. A Schuykill, qui est sur la route de Reading, il y a aussi une église catholique et une congrégation. C'est le prêtre de Reading qui fait le service de l'une et de l'autre.

and were delighted to converse with him ; and they came very graciously to assist at the religious services at which the Bishop presided. . The people naturally followed the lead of the senators with the result that our religion become highly esteemed and respected. I must add that at Philadelphia there is a church for the negroes with a negro minister as their guide and teacher. He was ordained by an Anglican bishop as his flock are of the Anglican creed."

BERKS COUNTY

This county is bounded on the north by the County of Northampton, north-west by Northumberland, south-west by Dauphin and Lancaster and south-east by Chester and Montgomery. It has several coal mines supplying different furnaces. Towards the north there are several mountains or hills. The county is watered by the Schuylkill River, and it has nearly 40,000 inhabitants. Reading is the capital. It is a very fine city regularly laid out and inhabited principally by Germans. It has more than 600 houses. There are two fine public buildings, a prison built of stone and a court house, several splendid churches, one amongst others belongs to the Roman Catholics who are all Germans, another belongs to the German Lutherans, another to the German Calvinists, built in 1793. At Schuylkill on the road from Reading there is also a Catholic Church with a mission. The priest of Reading serves both.

COMTÉ DE CHESTER

Ce comté est borné à l'ouest par le comté de la Delaware, au sud-ouest par Philadelphie, ayant près de 40 mille habitans. On y trouve beaucoup de fer dans la partie du nord qui sert à dix forges pour en entretenir l'activité, et il en sort par an 1,000 tonnes de barres de fer. On y voit beaucoup de moulins de différentes sortes pour la farine, pour scier le bois, pour fouler les étoffes, pour l'huile, le tabac, le papier, etc. Ils sont au nombre de plus de 120. Westchester est la capitale renfermant environ soixante maisons, une court-house, une prison, et surtout une belle église catholique. Je n'en connois pas le prêtre.

COMTÉ DE LANCASTER

Ce comté est très considérable et très peuplé et placé dans l'intérieur de la Pensylvanie et s'étendant au sud jusqu'au Maryland. On y compte près de 50 mille habitans dont près de 200 esclaves. Les terres y sont très riches et très bien cultivées. Dans le nord il y a plusieurs mines de fer et 8 forges. On y trouve aussi des mines de cuivre, de plomb en abondance et de pierre à chaux. La ville capitale est Lancaster, la plus grande qu'il y a dans l'intérieur des terres dans les États Unis, agréablement située sur la descente d'une colline. Son commerce est très grand et s'aggrandit tous les jours. On y compte plus de mille maisons en

CHESTER COUNTY

This county is bounded on the west by Delaware county, and on the south by Philadelphia and has a population of nearly 40,000. In the northern section there is abundance of iron which serves to keep ten furnaces in operation. The output is 1000 tons of bar iron yearly. There are several mills of various kinds for grinding flour, sawing wood, fulling cloth, for manufacturing oil, tobacco, paper, etc. There are one hundred of them in all. Westchester is the chief town and has about sixty houses, a court-house, a prison, and above all a fine Catholic church. I do not know the priest who attends it.

LANCASTER COUNTY

This county is quite important, very populous and is situated in the interior of Pennsylvania, extending southwards to Maryland. It is stated that it has 50,000 inhabitants of whom nearly 200 are slaves. The farms in this section are rich and in a high state of cultivation. In the northern section there are several iron mines and 8 furnaces. There are also numerous copper and lead mines and limestone. Lancaster is the chief town and is the largest inland town in the United States, nicely located on the slope of a hill. It has a large trade which is increasing every day. It has more than a thousand stone and brick houses, and a large

brique et en pierre. On y voit grand nombre d'églises de différentes religions, luthériens, calvinistes, presbytériens, épiscopaux, moraves. L'église catholique romaine est très belle avec une grande congrégation d'irlandois et d'allemands ; mais dans ce moment et depuis peu sans prêtre. Le presbytère est élégant et fort commode avec un jardin, et il y a d'autres congrégations dans le même comté dont j'ignore les noms.

COMTÉ DAUPHIN

Ce comté étoit autrefois contenu dans celui de Lancastre, et il en a été séparé en 1795. Sa forme est triangulaire et environné des comtés de Mifflins, de Cumberland, de York, de Berks et de Northumberland. La capitale est Harrisbourg où il y a une petite congrégation catholique ; dans le nord il y a beaucoup de montagnes dont une bonne partie n'est pas cultivée. Les irlandois ont été les premier^s colons auxquels ont succédé les allemands. On y compte près de 24 mille habitants. Lebanon, ville régulièrement bâtie et plus de 300 maisons ; Middletown, ville de 100 maisons et d'un grand commerce, ont de petites congrégations ; mais Elisabethtown a une fort belle église nouvellement bâtie par les soins de M. Barth, allemand européen qui étant prêtre de Lancastre et chargé des congrégations voisines a vu s'accroître ce comté en nombre et en piété, ce que l'on doit à son zèle bien connu dans (ce) pays.

number of churches of different denominations, such as Lutheran, Calvinist, Prebsyterian, Episcopalian, and Moravian. The Roman Catholic Church is very handsome. It has a large congregation of Irish and Germans but just now, and for some time past, it is without a priest. The presbytery is attractive and quite large, with a garden attached. There are other congregations in the same county, but I cannot name them.

DAUPHIN COUNTY

This county was formerly part of the County of Lancaster, and was separated from it in 1795. It is triangular in shape and is surrounded by the Counties of Mifflin, Cumberland, York, Berks, and Northumberland. The chief town is Harrisburg, where there is a small Catholic mission. In the northern part of the county much of which is uncultivated, there are several mountains. The first settlers were Irish, who were followed by Germans. The population is reckoned at nearly 42,000. Lebanon, a regularly built town, with more than 300 houses, and Middletown with a hundred houses and commercially important, have small missions; but Elizabethtown has a very fine church recently built by the efforts of Mr. De Barth, a European German who, whilst pastor of Lancaster and in charge of the neighboring missions witnessed this country grow in numbers and increase in godliness, the result of the zeal for which he is noted in these parts.

COMTÉ DE CUMBERLAND

Ce comté est borné par Mifflins au nord et nord-ouest, par la rivière Susquehannah à l'est et nord-est, par York au sud, et au sud-ouest par le comté de Franklin.

Ce pays est généralement montagneux, cependant on y voit beaucoup de vallées très cultivées, et il contient plus de 26 mille habitans. Carlisle en est la capitale. Sa situation est agréable et saine dans une plaine. La ville contient plus de 500 maisons, la plupart de pierre et de brique. Il y a un fort beau collège qu'on appelle Dickenson, auteur célèbre en Amérique et fondateur de ce collège où sont 3 professeurs, un cabinet de physique, une belle bibliothèque contenant plus de 3,000 volumes. Les presbytériens, les luthériens allemands, les épiscopaux ont chacun leurs églises, et les catholiques romains viennent d'en construire une nouvelle qui est très belle. Cette congrégation avoit été négligée pendant deux ans faute de prêtres. L'ayant visité à l'occasion d'un voyage dans ces contrées et ayant vu beaucoup d'empressement dans les catholiques pour avoir un prêtre qui vint les visiter de tems à autre, j'en parlai à M. l'Évêque qui chargea M. Zocchi de cette congrégation. Les espérances qu'ils m'avoient données ne furent pas sans effet. M. Zocchi y a fait beaucoup de fruits en peu de tems. Elle a augmenté considérablement. Il y va tous les mois exactement et si on parvint à y mettre un prêtre qui eût le zèle de M. Zocchi, il y feroit un bien infini. Ces catholiques sont en partie anglo-américains et anglo-allemands.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

This county is bounded by Mifflin on the north, by the Susquehannah River on the east, by York on the north-east and by Franklin on the south and south-west.

The country generally is mountainous, yet there are a number of valleys in a high state of cultivation. It has more than 26,000 inhabitants. The chief town is Carlisle, located in a desirable and healthy spot in the open country. The town has more than 500 houses most of them stone and brick. There is a very fine college here named after Dickenson (Dickinson), a famous American author, who founded it.⁵³ It has 3 professors, a laboratory, and a fine library containing more than 3,000 volumes. The Presbyterians, the German Lutherans, the Episcopalians have each a church, and the Roman Catholics have just erected a very beautiful one. This mission had been neglected for two years owing to scarcity of priests. Having visited it during a trip to these parts and having seen the eagerness of the Catholics to have a priest to visit them occasionally, I spoke of it to the Bishop who placed Mr. Zocchi in charge of this mission. They have fully realized my expectations, and the result has been satisfactory. Mr. Zocchi's zeal soon bore fruits, and the mission has grown considerably. He visits it regularly every month, and if it were possible to locate a priest there as zealous as Mr. Zocchi he would accomplish marvels. The Catholics there are partly Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Germans.⁵⁴

COMTÉ DE FRANKLIN

Le comté de Franklin est borné au nord par Mifflins, au nord-est par Cumberland, à l'est par York, au sud par le comté de Washington dans le Maryland, à l'ouest par Bedford comté. Entre les montagnes du nord et du sud sont de magnifiques vallées bien cultivées et arrosées par le Conwago. Il y a des mines de fer et des forges. On y compte 20,000 habitants. Chambersburg en est la capitale située dans le lieu le plus agréable et bien cultivé. On y compte 200 maisons et deux églises presbytériennes. Il y a aussi une église catholique et un presbytère avec une grande congrégation. Le prêtre qui y réside est M. Phelan qui a d'autres missions à desservir.

COMTÉ DE YORK

Ce comté est borné à l'est et au nord par la Susquehannah qui le sépare des comtés Dauphin et Lancaster, au sud par l'état du Maryland. On y compte 27 mille habitants. York en est la ville capitale située sur la rivière Codorne qui se jette dans la Susquehanna. Cette ville a plus de 500 maisons dont la plupart sont de brique. La ville est bien percée et bien située. On y voit une court-house bien placée sur une éminence, une académie assez bien composée, une église allemande

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Franklin County is bounded on the north by Mifflin, north-east, by Cumberland, east by York, south by Washington county, in Maryland, and west by Bedford county. Between the north and the south mountains, there are splendid well-cultivated valleys which are watered by the Conewago. It has iron mines and furnaces. The population is 20,000. Chambersburg situated in a very pleasant spot that is well tilled is the chief town, with 200 houses and two Presbyterian churches, a Catholic church and a presbytery with a large congregation. The resident priest is Mr. Phelan who also attends other missions.

YORK COUNTY

This county is bounded on the north and north-east by the Susquehanna which separates it from the Counties of Dauphin and Lancaster, on the south, by the State of Maryland. It has a population of 27,000. York is the capital, situated on Codorus Creek which empties into the Susquehannah. This city has more than 500 houses most of which are brick. The town presents a fine appearance and it is splendidly situated on an elevated site. It has a well-equipped academy, German Lutheran, a Presbyterian, and a Moravian

luthérienne, une allemande calviniste, une presbytérienne, une des moraves, une assemblée de quakers, enfin une église catholique très ancienne avec un terrain assez vaste et dans la ville appartenant aux catholiques et qui sert de cimetière. Cette congrégation a quelques irlandais et américains, mais la plupart de ceux qui la composent sont allemands. J'en ai été chargé pendant un an comme missionnaire anglois-allemand, et je l'ai trouvée plus considérable qu'elle n'étoit d'abord. Je n'y allais que tous les mois, mais si l'on pouvoit y aller plus souvent, bientôt elle s'accroît jusqu'à pouvoir y entretenir un prêtre résident. Grand nombre de catholiques sont dans les campagnes voisines qui viendroient volontiers à l'église si l'on les y attiroit, et si on y bâtissoit une nouvelle église, ce qu'il seroit facile à faire par une souscription. Elle a été servie constamment par les prêtres de Conwago dans le comté d'Adams qui sont trop éloignés et trop occupés pour donner un soin suffisant à cette congrégation où il y a néanmoins beaucoup de piété et beaucoup à faire. Hanover est une autre ville de ce pays qui contient 200 maisons à neuf lieues au nord d'York. On y voit une église allemande luthérienne, une autre allemande calviniste, et une allemande catholique, car presque tous les habitants de cette ville sont américains allemands et on l'appelle Mealike. Les catholiques y sont en grand nombre surtout dans la campagne voisine.

COMTÉ D'ADAMS

Conecheague ou Conwago est une petite rivière d'un long cours qui prend sa source près de Mercersburgh dans le comté de Franklin ; à son cours vers le sud et après avoir arrosé plusieurs fertiles vallées se jette dans

Church, a Quaker Meeting-House, and lastly a very old Catholic Church with a very large plot of ground in the town belonging to the Catholics, which is used as a cemetery. The congregation consists of Irish and Americans, but the majority are Germans. I had charge of it for a year as Anglo-German missionary and I left it larger than I had found it. I visited it once a month; but if it were possible to visit it oftener it would soon be able to support a resident priest. There are a great many Catholics scattered throughout the country in the vicinity who would willingly come to church if they could be attracted to it by building a new church. This might be done very easily by taking up a subscription. The mission has always been attended by priests from Conewago, in Adams County, who are too far away and too busy to give the needed attention to a mission where there is a great deal of faith and much to be done. Another town in this section is Hanover with 200 houses, nine leagues north of York. It has three German Churches, Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic, as most of the people of this town are German American and they call it Mealike[?]. There are a great many Catholics in this section especially in the surrounding rural district.

ADAMS COUNTY

The Conecheague, or Conewago, is a small river of considerable length which takes its rise near Mercersburg in Franklin county. In its course southwards

la Potowmack au port Guillaume dans le Maryland. C'est à une lieue de Hanover sur le bord de cette rivière au milieu d'un grand nombre de plantations d'allemands catholiques qui s'étendent à une grande distance tout à l'entour qu'on a bâti depuis quelques années la plus belle église catholique aux États Unis à l'exception de la grande ville de Philadelphie. Elle est sur un terrain qui appartient ainsi que les environs à une assez grande distance aux PP. Jésuites du Maryland. La plupart des prêtres qui ont desservi cette église et cette vaste congrégation ont été des Jésuites ; mais depuis quelque temps M. l'Évêque y en a mis d'autres excellents prêtres qui y ont fait un bien infini. Ils étoient ordinairement trois résidents dans un presbytère tenant à l'église, très spacieux et très propre, de pierre ainsi que l'église, contenant un grand nombre de chambres meublées très décentement, avec un jardin vaste, magnifique, bien entretenu. L'église et le presbytère ainsi que le jardin sont sur une colline qui domine sur une belle vallée tout autour et sur d'autres collines. M. de Barth se trouvant seul pour une vaste congrégation avec plusieurs autres missions à desservir, M. l'Évêque m'y envoya pour l'aider la veille de la fête de Noël, 1805. J'y ai resté un an avec M. de Barth exerçant les fonctions de missionnaire anglois-allemand à Conwago et dans les missions qui en dépendent. Le peuple y est très attaché à la religion et comme on a bâti l'église dans la campagne pour lui faire éviter le commerce des villes, il a conservé la plus grande fidélité aux pratiques de la religion et je n'ai jamais vu de lieu où les sacrements soient plus souvent fréquentés. La plupart sont allemands. Les missions ou congrégations qui en dépendent sont celles-ci : York, dont nous avons déjà parlé, et Hanover, dont nous avons fait mention aussi dans le comté de York. Conwago n'est pas de ce comté maintenant mais de celui d'Adams,

after having watered several fertile valleys, it empties into the Potomac at Williamsport in Maryland. On the banks of this river in the heart of numerous German Catholic settlements which extend for miles, is one of the finest Catholic Churches in the United States, with the exception of the large city of Philadelphia.⁵⁵ It is located on a plot of land which, together with the adjoining property belongs to the Jesuit Fathers of Maryland. Most of the priests who have served this Church and this large mission are Jesuits; but within recent years the Bishop has appointed other excellent priests who have rendered splendid service. There were usually three resident priests who occupied the presbytery adjoining the church. This, like the church, is built of stone, quite spacious, with a large number of well-furnished rooms, and has a fine, well-kept garden. The church and presbytery and garden are situated on a knoll which dominates the valley below and the neighboring hills. Mr. De Barth being all alone to attend this large congregation together with several adjoining missions, the Bishop sent me there to help him on Christmas Eve, 1805. I remained a year with Mr. De Barth as Anglo-German missionary at Conewago and the dependent missions.⁵⁶ The people here are deeply attached to their religion, and as the church is built in the country so that they may avoid relations with the towns, they have been most faithful in the discharge of their religious duties; and I have never seen a place where the sacraments are so frequented. The majority of the people are Germans. The missions dependant on Conewago are York (of which we have already spoken) and Hanover, (also mentioned when treating of York county). Conewago is no longer in York county, but in the county of Adams of

dont Gettysburg, petite et nouvelle ville, est la capitale. Nous ajouterons pour le comté de York, Petersburg ou Littletown, ville de 100 maisons ou l'on voit une église pour les habitans qui sont presque tous catholiques romains. Cette église n'est pas encore boisée en dedans parcequ'elle est nouvelle, mais on a déjà fait une tribune qui est fort jolie, un sanctuaire avec une balustrade et des bancs dans la nef. Je l'ai visité comme missionnaire allemand de Conwago tous les mois. Abbesburg est une ville de 150 maisons ou l'on voit une église d'allemands calvinistes. Dans cette ville il y a des catholiques romains mais principalement dans les environs, et c'est pour eux qu'on a bâti une chapelle ou j'allois encore tous les mois comme prêtre de Conwago, ou à ma place, M. de Barth. Dans toutes les congrégations il y a beaucoup de piété et une grande fréquentation des sacrements. Presque tous les habitans des campagnes sont catholiques et presque tous allemands.

A une demi-lieue d'Abbesburg et une lieue et demie de Hanover est un séminaire de jeunes élèves anglois-allemands pour fournir des professeurs au Collège de Ste-Marie de Baltimore et au Séminaire de St-Sulpice de cette même ville des séminaristes ordinands. Ce séminaire a été établi par moi-même l'année dernière le jour de l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge, et donne les plus grandes espérances pour la propagation de la foi catholique dans les États Unis et la conversion des infidèles dans les pays sauvages.

Il y a une chapelle à l'usage du séminaire et où se rendent les dimanches et les fêtes ceux qui ne peuvent aller à Conwago. La maison est assez commode, assez vaste pour cet établissement et toute neuve. Elle est au milieu d'un grand parc ou l'on voit un verger fort étendu et bien soigné avec plusieurs allées pour la promenade, et un jardin tout nouveau à côté de la maison. Un bois assez étendu renfermé dans le parc

which Gettysburg, a small new town, is the county-seat. We must add as belonging to York county, Petersburg or Littlestown, a town of 100 houses, where there is a church for the people most of whom are Roman Catholics. The church is not yet ceiled inside as the building is quite new ; but a nice gallery has been built, with a sanctuary and altar-railing, and pews have been placed in the nave. As German missionary at Conewago I visited it every month. Abbotstown is a town with 150 houses which has a German Calvinist Church. There are some Roman Catholics in this section but they live chiefly on the outskirts. To accommodate these a chapel was built which a priest of Conewago, either Mr. De Barth or myself, visited every month. In all these missions, which are largely Catholic and German, there is a good deal of faith and the sacraments are frequented most faithfully.

Half-a-league distant from Abbotstown and a league and a-half from Hanover is a seminary for the training of young Anglo-German pupils intended as teachers for St. Mary's College in Baltimore and ecclesiastical students for the Sulpician Seminary in the same city. I organized this Seminary last year on the Feast of the Assumption, and it promises well for the propagation of the Catholic religion in the United States and the conversion of infidels in uncivilized regions.

There is a chapel for the use of the seminary where those who cannot go to Conewago may hear Mass on Sundays and holydays. The house is quite new and sufficiently large for the requirements of such an institution. It is situated in the center of an extensive park with a large and well kept orchard and several walks. Close to the house is a newly-made garden. A grove enclosed in the park, watered by a brook, makes a

et arrosé par un ruisseau forme une jolie promenade et rend le séjour très agréable. Une longue côte à quelques pas qu'on appelle Pigeonhill et qui donne son nom au séminaire toute couverte de bois offre un très bel aspect et paroît couronner l'horizon de sa chevelure. L'intérieur de ce bois est divisé par plusieurs petites routes qui invitent à s'y promener pour y jouir de la solitude et d'une ombre impénétrable au soleil. C'est assez sans doute pour la description de Pigeonhill, peut-être un peu trop. Mais s'il y a d'excès dans la longueur de la description on me pardonnera aisément en se souvenant que c'est une habitation que j'ai quittée il y a peu de tems, et qui doit m'être précieuse sous le rapport de la religion.

Dans le comté de York et à huit lieues de distance de cette ville il y a une petite ville qu'on appelle Hunters Town — la ville du chasseur — parcequ'on y chasse beaucoup. Tous les habitans sont d'excellents chasseurs et tirent grand profit des peaux de chevreuils et de cerfs qu'ils vendent à Carlisle et en d'autres lieux. Il y a un certain nombre de catholiques qui sont visités de tems à autre par le prêtre de Conwago. Ceux-ci vont encore à Midleton nouvel établissement de catholiques irlandois près de Northumberland. Ils y ont construit nouvellement une église, elle n'est pas encore finie. Cet établissement est proche de Danville au dessus de Northumberland où il y a quelques catholiques qui doivent être visités par les prêtres de Conwago en allant à Sunbury et en retournant à Conwago. Dans le comté de Huntingdon où se trouve cette rivière Juniata et près de Clearfield il y a une congrégation de catholiques visitée par M. Schmidt (le prince Galitzin) dont nous avons parlé plus haut.

lovely promenade and renders existence there quite pleasant. A few steps beyond is a long wooded knoll called Pigeon Hill (after which the seminary is named) which offers a delightful vista and seems to crown the horizon with its bosky crest. Within the grove run several foot-paths which beckon your steps to enjoy the shady solitude. This is doubtless enough as a description of Pigeon Hill. Perhaps it is too lengthy ; but I shall be readily pardoned for it when one recalls the fact that I have just left an abode very dear to me from a religious viewpoint.⁵⁷

In the same county of York eight leagues distant there is a small settlement called Hunters' Town so named because it is a resort for hunters. The people there are great sportsmen and make a good deal of money with deer and buck skins which they dispose of at Carlisle and elsewhere. There are some Catholics there who are visited occasionally by the priest of Conewago. These also visit Middletown a new Irish settlement near Northumberland. They have built a new church in this section but it is not yet quite finished. This settlement is close to Danville, above Northumberland where there are some Catholics who must be visited, by the priests of Conewago going to and returning from Sunbury. In Huntingdon County on the River Juniata, and near Clearfield there is a Catholic mission visited by Mr. Schmidt (Prince Gallitzin) of whom we have spoken above.

LE COMTÉ DE WESTMORELAND

Le comté de Westmoreland est un comté de Pensylvanie, borné au nord par le Lycoming, au sud par le comté de Lafayette. On y trouve beaucoup de fer et de charbon. On y compte 23 mille habitants. Greensburg en est la capitale. C'est une assez jolie ville de plus de cent maisons bien bâties. Il y a une église allemande calviniste, une belle court-house, une prison ; près de la ville est une église catholique et une congrégation très considérable où réside un prêtre dans son presbytère ; c'est aujourd'hui M. Heilbron qui en est le pasteur. Quoique Pittsburg soit du comté d'Alleganie, nous le mettons ici parce qu'il est le plus au nord et le plus isolé des autres églises et congrégations et tout proche de Greensburg qui est la seule congrégation voisine que je connoisse maintenant. Cette ville est située sur une belle plaine ayant l'Alleganie au nord et la Monongahela au sud ; ces deux rivières s'unissant au fort Duquesne qui est à la pointe de la ville forment l'Ohio ou la belle rivière. Cette ville qui appartenait aux françois a été prise sur eux par les anglois en 1760, et a changé son nom dans celui du fort Pitt à la place du fort Duquesne pour honorer la mémoire du dernier comte de Chatham. Elle contient plus de 300 maisons sur une vaste place qui n'étoit pas remplie étant toute nouvelle. Il y a une court house, une église presbytérienne, une église des luthériens allemands, une académie, etc. Lorsque j'y passois en 1798, je trouvai les catholiques fort empressés d'avoir un prêtre. J'en écrivis à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore qui depuis ce tems là leur en a toujours procuré. A la place de la chapelle qu'on a eu jusqu'à présent, on a levé une souscription pour bâtir une église.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY

Westmoreland is a county in Pennsylvania, bounded on the north by Lycoming, and south by the county of Lafayette. It is very rich in coal and iron. Its population is reckoned at 23,000. The chief town is Greensburg. This is a rather fine town with more than a hundred well-built houses. It has a German Calvinist Church, a fine-court-house and a gaol. Near the town is a Catholic church with a very extensive mission and a resident priest. At the moment the pastor is Mr. Heilbron.⁵⁸

Though Pittsburgh is in Allegheny County we place it here because it is the most northerly and furthest removed of these missions and nearest to Greensburg which is the only neighboring mission that I know anything of. This town is located in a triangular plain with the Allegheny on the north and the Monongehela on the south. These two rivers uniting at Fort Duquesne which is located at the apex of the town form the Ohio or the "Beautiful River." This town belonged to the French but it was taken from them by the English in 1760 and the name changed from Fort Duquesne to Fort Pitt in honor of the last Earl of Chatham. It has 300 houses scattered over a large area with many vacant lots, as it is quite new. It has a court-house, Presbyterian and German Churches and an academy. When I passed there in 1798 I found the Catholic people very anxious to have a priest. I wrote the Bishop of Baltimore about the matter and he has supplied them with one ever since. To replace the chapel which they have had up to the present, a subscription has been taken up to build a church.⁵⁹

Asylum est une ville française du comté de Luzerne en Pensylvanie, située sur la rivière Susquehannah. C'est M. de Talon, procureur-général au Châtelet, qui avec M. de Noailles a entrepris cet établissement. Le plan de la ville a été très bien fait, beaucoup de maisons y ont été bâties aux dépens de M. de Talon, mais les dépenses énormes qu'il fit, le peu d'exactitude qu'on eut de lui faire passer des fonds de France, l'obligea de rendre les terres qu'il avoit acquises. Il voulut rendre heureux tous ceux qui étoient venus sur sa parole s'établir à Asylum, et il l'auroit fait s'il avoit pu. Il se réserva même une petite quantité de terres pour en céder la propriété au peuple qui l'avoit suivi, et se trouvoit sans ressources. Mais comme il ne put leur en donner un contrat par écrit, n'ayant lui-même que la parole donnée de ses acquéreurs les anciens propriétaires de ces terres, cette incertitude a fait fuir la plupart des habitans. Il y restoit encore 7 ou 8 familles françaises lorsque j'y passais en 1805. J'y fis la mission à ces bons françois trompés dans leurs espérances et si malheureux privés depuis longtems des secours de la religion. Ils se rendirent très exact aux exercices de la religion pendant les 15 jours que la mission dura. Ils approchèrent tous des sacrements et me donnèrent par leur retour sincère à Dieu les plus douces consolations qu'un prêtre du Seigneur puisse éprouver dans les fonctions de son ministère.

Quoiqu'ils soient à plus de cent lieues de Baltimore, j'étois déterminé, après la mission de Sunbury dont j'ai parlé, d'aller chez eux, et M. l'Évêque m'avoit invité ; mais la mission de Sunbury et Middleton ayant manqué par des circonstances imprévues, je n'ai pu exécuter mon projet dans le tems proposé, et l'occasion ne s'est plus retrouvée d'entreprendre cette mission. C'est à Asylum que les trappistes dont nous parlerons ailleurs ont cherché à s'établir en 1803. On leur avoit fait espé-

Asylum is a French town in Luzerne County, situated on the Susquehanna River. This settlement owes its foundation to Mr. de Talon, procurator-general of the Paris Law Courts and Mr. de Noailles. The town is well laid out and several houses were built at Mr. de Talon's expense; but owing to the uncertainty attending the transmission of funds from France he was obliged to surrender the property which had been secured. He was most anxious to provide for the comfort of the settlers whom he had induced to locate there, and would have done so were he able. He had even reserved some territory of which the proprietorship would have passed to the settlers who had no means, but he could not give them a title as he himself had only a verbal agreement with the former proprietors. This uncertainty affected the majority of the colonists. There remained only 7 or 8 families there when I passed through the settlement in 1805. I gave a mission to these poor French folk who found themselves duped and unfortunately were long deprived of the comforts of religion. They attended the religious exercises very faithfully during the fortnight that the mission lasted. They all approached the sacraments and by their sincere return to God gave me the sweetest consolation that a priest of the Lord can experience in the exercise of his ministry.⁶⁰

Though they are more than a hundred leagues from Baltimore I had determined after the completion of the mission at Sunbury of which I have already spoken, to go to them, and the Bishop had so requested me; but owing to the failure of the Sunbury and Middletown mission due to unforeseen circumstances I was unable to carry out my plans; and the opportunity to undertake this mission never again occurred. It was at Asylum that the Trappists of whom we have spoken elsewhere thought of settling in 1803.⁶¹ They had been

rer une concession de terres gratuite et très considérable. Ce pays ne pouvoit être mieux choisi pour une solitude. Les déserts de la Thébaïde n'en approchent pas. J'ai parcouru ces solitudes et en ai été vivement frappé, mais les trappistes n'ayant pu avoir ces terres rassemblées dans un même lot n'ont pas cru devoir accepter les offres qu'on leur a faites.

LA NOUVELLE YORK

L'état de New York est borné au nord par le lac Ontario, le fleuve St-Laurent et le Canada; à l'orient par Vermont, Massachusetts et Connecticut; au sud par une partie de la longue isle, la Nouvelle Jersey, et la Pensylvanie; à l'ouest par le lac Erié et Niagara. Le climat de New York est très variable et très froid à raison des vents du nord ouest qui soufflent directement sur les lacs. La partie orientale de cet état est très montagneuse et la partie occidentale et septentrionale pleine de lacs et de rivières. Les terres sur les bords des lacs et des rivières et celles des vallées entre les montagnes sont fertiles et ont blé d'inde, chanvre, lin, pois, etc; il y a surtout une grande quantité de blé d'inde. Les principaux arbres de ce pays sont l'érable, le bouleau, le cerisier, le noyer noir, etc.

Cet état est le troisième pour la population, contenant plus de 500 mille habitants. Les hollandais et les anglais sont en plus grand nombre, ensuite les écossais et les irlandais, puis les allemands, il y a outre cela quelques français, mais le plus grand nombre viennent de la Nouvelle Angleterre. On remarque plus de politesse et.

led to hope for a free grant of land of considerable size. No better place could have been found for a retreat. The deserts of the Thebaid are not comparable to it. I have travelled through this wilderness and was very much impressed. The Trappists, however, being unable to secure sufficient territory under the same grant decided not to accept the offer that had been made to them.

NEW YORK

The State of New York is bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, the River St. Lawrence and Canada, east by Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, south by a part of Long Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and west by Lake Erie and Niagara. The climate of New York is very variable and very cold on account of the northerly winds which blow directly from the Lakes. The eastern part of the state is mountainous, the western part and the southern section are full of lakes and rivers. The lands bordering on the lakes and rivers and the intervals between the mountains are fertile and produce wheat, Indian corn, hemp, peas, etc., Indian corn being grown in large quantities. The chief trees in this part of the country are maple, birch, cherry, black walnut, etc.

As regards population, this state ranks third, having more than 500,000 inhabitants. The Dutch and the English constitute the largest part of the population, next in order come Scotch, Irish, and Germans. In addition there are some French ; but the majority come from New England. Here one notices more polite-

plus d'hospitalité dans cet état. Il y a aussi plus de richesse et de magnificence. Les principales religions de cet état sont la presbytérienne, celle des hollandais réformés, les anabaptistes, les épiscopaux, les quakers, les allemands luthériens, quelques moraves, les méthodistes, les trembleurs, les mennonites, les protestants françois, enfin les juifs qui ont une synagogue à New York.

Jusqu'en 1754 il n'y avoit point de collège dans cet état, mais depuis cette époque l'amour de la littérature et des sciences y a fait de grands progrès. Le Collège de New York est très beau et a grande réputation ; un autre aussi brillant a été établi à Schenectady ; il y a un grand nombre d'académies.

Le premier établissement permanent dans cet état fut fait à Albany par les hollandais en 1612, mais ils le cédèrent avec la Nouvelle Jersey aux anglois, et alors ils abandonnèrent leur premier nom de nouvelle hollande pour ceux de nouvelle York et nouvelle Jersey. Le premier fut ainsi nommé en l'honneur de Jacques II roi d'Angleterre alors seulement duc de York, et frère de Charles II alors régnant. Nous ne suivrons pas les différents comtés de cet état, parce que quoiqu'il y ait presque partout des catholiques, ils ne forment point de congrégation. Ils n'ont d'église qu'à New York et à Albany. Nous commencerons par New York.

Cette ville est la capitale de tout l'état et de l'île et comté de New York. Le siège du gouvernement a été néanmoins transféré à Albany à raison des circonstances. Elle est la plus grande ville des États-Unis après Philadelphie et la première pour le commerce. Elle est bâtie sur la partie sud-ouest de l'île et forme une pointe à la jonction de la rivière de l'est et de l'ouest. Celle-ci est la rivière Hudson, l'autre un bras de mer entre New York et la longue isle.

ness and hospitality [than elsewhere]. There is also a great deal of wealth and display. The chief religious denominations of the state are : Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Anabaptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, German Lutherans, some Moravians, Methodists, Shakers, Mennonites, French Protestants, and lastly Jews who have a synagogue in New York [city].

There was no college in the state till 1754 ; but since that date interest in literature and science has developed to a marked degree. The College of New York is a beautiful institution and it has quite a reputation. Another equally famous College has been established at Schenectady. There are several academies.

The first permanent settlement in this state was made at Albany by the Dutch in 1612 ; but they ceded it together with New Jersey to the English and relinquished the name from New Holland for New York and New Jersey. The former was named for James II who was then Duke of York and brother of the reigning sovereign, Charles II. We are not going to discuss the different counties of the state, as Catholics, though scattered throughout it in various directions, have no regular missions. Only at Albany is there a church. We begin with New York.

This city is the capital of the entire state and of the island [Manhattan] and county of New York. The seat of government, however, has been transferred to Albany for certain reasons. It is the finest city in the United States after Philadelphia; and commercially it occupies the first place. It is located on the southwestern part of the island [of Manhattan] and tapers to a point at the confluence of the East and West Rivers: the latter is the Hudson, the other an inlet between New York and Long Island.

Cette ville offre dans ses bâtiments plus de magnificence qu'aucune autre des États Unis. La rue Broadway, qui est la principale rue, peut être comparée en beauté avec les plus belles de Londres et de Paris. On y remarque plusieurs beaux édifices comme l'hôtel de la commune, la maison du gouverneur et l'on y compte 40 églises, parmi lesquelles il y en a quatre épiscopales. Celles de St-Paul et de la Trinité sont les plus belles des États Unis. On y voit différents hôpitaux et un collège célèbre nommé auparavant le Collège du Roi, maintenant le Collège Columbia. Il y a ordinairement 100 pensionnaires. New York doit l'importance de son commerce à sa situation qui la rend maîtresse du commerce de la Nouvelle Jersey, du Connecticut, du Massachusetts, du Vermont, outre la facilité du commerce intérieur par Albany et la rivière Hudson.

On compte 4 mille catholiques à New York, irlandais, français, et américains. L'église de St-Pierre est assez récente et bien bâtie ; c'est M. Obrian qui en est curé et premier pasteur et il est aidé par MM. Byrns et Hurley ainsi que par le père Vianney, carme français. On doit bâtir une autre église dans laquelle on placerait M. Cibourg, prêtre français, prêtre et desservant de New York depuis plusieurs années, [depuis] la Révolution française qui a soulevé les nègres à St-Domingue contre les prêtres où il étoit alors. Cette église sera bâtie dans ———, faubourg de New York, où il y a beaucoup de français établis et émigrés de St-Domingue.

The superb buildings of this city give it a supremacy over any other in the United States. Broadway, the principal street, compares favorably with the finest streets in London and Paris. Several splendid buildings are to be seen there, such as City Hall and Government House. There are 40 churches, the Episcopalian churches, St. Paul's and Trinity, are the most handsome in the United States. There are several hospitals and the famous Columbia College, (formerly known as King's College) which has usually 100 boarders. New York owes its important commercial position to its location which makes it mistress of the trade of New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, and to the facilities offered by Albany and the Hudson River for traffic with the interior.

The Catholic population of New York, made up of Irish, French, and Americans, is estimated at 4,000. St. Peter's Church is quite new and is well-built church. Mr. Obrian [O'Brien] is the rector and first pastor with Mr. Byrns [Byrnes] and Mr. Hurley and Father Vianney, a French Carmelite, as assistants. Another church is to be built somewhere in the suburbs of New York where there are a number of French and negroes from St. Domingo which will be attended by Mr. Cibourg [Sibourd], a French priest, who has been an assistant in New York since the French Revolution which caused the negroes of San Domingo to revolt against the priests where he had been stationed previously.⁶²

This church will be built at —, a suburb of New York where several French people and negroes from San Domingo are located.

ALBANY

Albany est la capitale du comté du même nom. Elle est sur la rivière Hudson et tient second rang dans l'état de la Nouvelle York. Elle réclame même le titre de métropole, étant dans le moment le siège du gouvernement, mais ce n'est qu'accidentellement. Il est incontestable qu'elle est plus ancienne que New York et même que tous les États Unis après James Town en Virginie. On commença à la bâtir en 1612 sur un terrain appelé Aurania, où Henry Hudson, qui a donné son nom à la rivière, étoit établi trois ans auparavant. On l'appella alors Berwick et elle retint ce nom jusqu'en 1647, puis nommée par les hollondois Williamstadt ; mais en 1664 elle prit le nom d'Albany qu'elle a encore. Ses habitants sont de toutes les nations du monde, mais les anglois y sont en plus grand nombre et leur langue y domine tellement que les autres diminuent tous les jours.

Cette cité, selon le calcul fait en 1797, contient environ 1,300 maisons, et le nombre d'habitans monte à plus de 7 mille. Plusieurs de ses maisons sont à la gothique avec le toit avancé à la manière des européens et hollondois. Les nouvelles maisons sont dans le goût moderne. La situation d'Albany sur la rivière Hudson lui donne un grand avantage par la facilité de la navigation et elle est célèbre par son commerce à l'ouest et au nord. Le sol du comté est très fertile, bien arrosé par plusieurs rivières et capable de nourrir des millions d'habitans. On a déjà ouvert plusieurs canaux et plusieurs routes, ce qui fait espérer que sa population et celle de la ville augmentera par un progrès très rapide.

Les églises qu'on y voit sont une église flamande dans un goût d'architecture très ancien, une église hollandoise nouvelle et élégante, une pour les évêques, deux presbytériennes, une pour les allemands, une

ALBANY

Albany is the capital of the county of the same name. It is situated on the Hudson River and holds second rank in the State of New York. It even claims the title of metropolis, being, at the moment, the seat of government ; but this is merely by accident. It is beyond doubt older than New York and even older than any city in the United States except Jamestown, in Virginia. Its foundations were laid in 1612 on a tract of land called Aurania, where Henry Hudson who gave his name to the River had made a landing three years before. It was then named Beverwyck, and it retained this name till 1647, when it was named Williamstadt by the Dutch ; but in 1664 it took the name of Albany which it still bears. Its population comprises people of every nationality ; but the English are in majority and their language so dominates over the others that these are fast disappearing.

According to an estimate made in 1797 the city contains about 1,300 houses with more than 7,000 inhabitants. Many of these houses are of old English style with a projecting roof after the European or Dutch fashion. The new houses are modern in style. The situation of Albany on the Hudson River gives it a decided advantage in the way of water communication, as it is famous as a trading center for the east and the west. The soil of the country is very fertile, being well watered by numerous streams, and it is able to support millions of people. Several canals and roads have already been opened. This inspires the hope that its population as well as the size of the city will increase very rapidly,

There are several churches here, one of them Flemish of a very old style of architecture, one Dutch, new and handsome, one Episcopalian, two Presbyterian, one High German, one Methodist and one Roman Catho-

pour les hauts allemands, une pour les méthodistes, une pour les catholiques romains. Elle a été bâtie dans le tems de mon séjour en Amérique. Les irlandois forment la plus grande partie de la congrégation. M. Kelly qui en étoit le prêtre s'est retiré et doit être actuellement remplacé par M. Byrns de New York ; voici de quelle manière cette église a été bâtie et cette congrégation s'est formée.

M. Le Coulteux, dont la famille est assez connue en France et surtout à Rouen, m'en a fait à moi-même le récit. Il y a environ 10 ans que s'étant établi à Albany et se trouvant avec un autre habitant catholique il fut le premier à lui observer que l'on feroit très bien de prôner aux catholiques une église à Albany. Je le veux bien, dit l'autre, s'il y a suffisamment de catholiques. Je n'en connois pas beaucoup ici. Je ferai la recherche, dit M. Le Coulteux, et je vous en amenerai bientôt 200, mais à condition que sur le champ vous ouvrirez une souscription en vous mettant à la tête pour une telle somme qu'il lui désigna. La proposition fut acceptée, les catholiques furent amenés, la souscription fut ouverte. Ce négociant dont j'ignore le nom tint parole et se mit à la tête de la souscription, écrivant une bonne somme. M. Le Coulteux, assez riche commerçant, ne se laissa pas vaincre en générosité. Les catholiques souscrivirent aussi. M. Le Coulteux se chargea de porter l'acte de souscriptions aux protestants de toutes les religions. Elle fut remplie à la satisfaction de tous, et l'on vit s'élever une des plus belles églises catholiques dans les États Unis. Il n'est pas douteux que le prêtre zélé que M. l'Évêque a envoyé à Albany n'y fasse le plus grand bien, même auprès des protestants dont je connois quelques familles très honnêtes et très disposées pour notre religion.

lic which was built during my sojourn in America. The majority of the congregation are Irish. Mr. Kelly who was pastor there has retired, and just now his successor is Mr. Byrns [Byrnes], of New York.⁶³ The church was built and the congregation organized, according to the story told me by Mr. Couteleux⁶⁴ [Couteulx] whose people are well known in France, but especially in Rouen, in this way: Having settled down at Albany about ten years ago he came into contact with another Catholic settler and remarked to him that it would be a good idea to canvass the Catholics for a Church at Albany. "I am perfectly willing", replied the other, "if there be sufficient Catholics; I know very few around here." "I shall make an investigation," said Mr. Couteleux [Couteulx], "and I shall soon gather together 200, but on condition that you will open a subscription and head the list" for an amount which he specified. The proposal was accepted; the Catholics were brought together, the subscription was opened, and this merchant—whose name I do not know—headed the list with a large amount. Mr. Couteleux [Couteulx] who was fairly prosperous merchant was not outdone by the generosity of the other. The Catholic people also subscribed. Mr. Couteleux [Couteulx] brought the subscription list to Protestants of all denominations and it was filled to the satisfaction of all concerned. Within a short time one of the finest churches in the United States was built there. There is no doubt that the zealous priest whom the Bishop has sent to Albany will accomplish great things among the Protestants some of whom are to my knowledge very favorably disposed towards our religion.

SCHENECTADY

Cette ville est très ancienne et la troisième pour la grandeur dans l'état de New York. Elle est à 5 lieues environ d'Albany. Elle est située agréablement sur le bord de la rivière Mohawk. Les maisons sont au nombre de près de 400 ; les rues y sont alignées mais dans l'ancien goût hollondois. Cette ville contient environ 6,000 habitants. Il y a un collège très brillant, établi en 1796, où l'on enseigne les différentes langues modernes, entre autres le françois, le latin, le grec, l'histoire, les belles lettres, la géographie, les mathématiques, les droits politiques, la philosophie. On l'appelle le collège de l'Union parcequ'il s'y trouve des étudiants et des professeurs de toutes les nations et religions. Elle n'est pas néanmoins aussi commerçante qu'elle pourroit être.

Les principales églises sont une hollondoise, une presbytérienne, une épiscopale. Les catholiques n'ont qu'une chapelle, mais la congrégation qui est desservie par le prêtre d'Albany est déjà assez nombreuse pour avoir une église. Le défaut de prêtres les a empêchés d'en bâtir une, j'entends un prêtre desservant et non résidant. M. Kelly n'a pas eu une grande réputation pour son zèle à cet égard.

C'est à Shenectady que s'est formée une société de missionnaires de différentes sectes pour la prédication de la religion chez les sauvages. Ils n'exigent pour leurs co-opérateurs que certains articles de croyance qui leur seront communs comme : l'unité de Dieu et la Trinité des trois personnes en Dieu, le péché originel pour tous les enfants d'Adam, le mystère de la rédemption par J.-C. Dieu et homme, nécessité de la grâce par J.-C. pour le salut, la croyance aux SS. Écritures de l'ancien et du nouveau testament, obligation d'observer le saint

SCHENECTADY

This town is very old and is the third largest in the State of New York. It is about 5 leagues from Albany and is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Mohawk River. It contains about 400 houses. The streets are all laid out in straight lines in Dutch style. The town has a population of about 6,000. It has a very famous college founded in 1796 where they teach the different modern languages, including French, Latin, Greek, history, literature, geography and mathematics. It is called Union College as students and teachers of all nationalities and creeds gather there. The town is not so prosperous commercially as it should be. The principal churches there are : one Dutch, one Presbyterian, and one Episcopalian. The Catholics have only a chapel, but the mission which is served by the priest of Albany, is large enough to have a church. Scarcity of priests precludes the congregation from building a church.

Schenectady is the birthplace of an interdenominational missionary society whose object is the preaching of the gospel to the Indians. The organization demands nothing of its workers but certain articles of belief such as: the Unity of God; the Trinity; Original Sin in all the children of Adam ; the Mystery of the Redemption ; necessity of the grace of Jesus Christ for salvation ; belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; Sabbath observance ; the Resurrection of the body and the Last Judgment. There are certain rules to be observed for the admission of members such as some learning, piety, good conduct, certificates, testimony and an examination under these headings by the directors of the society. There are other rules covering meetings, admission of members,

jour du dimanche, la résurrection générale des corps et le dernier jugement à la fin du monde.

Il y a des règles à observer pour l'admission des missionnaires, comme la science, la piété, la bonne conduite, les certificats, les témoignages, examen de toutes ces qualités par les directeurs de la société. Il y en a d'autres pour les assemblées, l'admission des membres, des officiers, l'administration des fonds et revenus, l'exclusion des sujets, la reddition des comptes, etc. J'ai vu de ces ministres travailler avec le plus grand zèle à la conversion des sauvages, les assujettir à des instructions fort longues, très pénibles, et faire tout cela avec un air de piété et de dévotion si naturelle que je desirois ardemment qu'ils le fassent de bonne foi dans leur religion, pour ne pas perdre en l'autre vie le fruit de tant de travaux.

Nous parlerons aussi d'une autre mission beaucoup plus étendue dans l'état de la Nouvelle York dont nous nous occuperons maintenant.

En parcourant les nouveaux établissements, villes et plantations à l'extrémité de la partie septentrionale de la Nouvelle York, Amsterdam, Niagara, Batavia, Canendaqui, Geneva, Catherine Town, Newtown, &c., j'ai rencontré plusieurs fois sur ma route et j'ai eu même occasions de converser avec des ministres presbytériens, missionnaires pour tous ces nouveaux établissements. Ils y viennent 2 ou 3 fois dans l'année, y restent 7 ou 8 jours faisant l'instruction, prières, catéchisme et conférences tous les jours, corrigeant les abus, réprimant les mauvaises mœurs, arrachant les scandales, parlant rarement des matières controversées par les dogmes parcequ'ils les ignorent. Ces ministres n'ont d'autre éducation que celle des écoles ordinaires, pour la lecture et l'écriture. S'ils sont assidus dans le tems de la mission, s'ils montrent de la piété et du zèle on les prend pour ministre en leur donnant quelques courtes

officers, administration of funds, exclusion of under-irables, keeping accounts, etc.

I have seen some of these ministers working most zealously for the conversion of the Indians, subjecting them to very long and wearisome instructions, working under great difficulties, and doing it all with an air of godliness and devotion so naturally that I would be very much pleased that they would do it in good faith so as not to lose in the life to come the fruits of so much toil. We shall also speak of another mission far more widespread in the State of New York with which we shall now deal.

In my journeys through the new settlements, towns, and plantations in the extreme northern part of the state, in Amsterdam, Niagara, Batavia, Canandaigua, Geneva, Catherine Town, Newton, etc., I have several times met on the way and even had conversations with Presbyterian ministers who did mission work in all the new settlements. They visit them two or three times a year, remain there 7 or 8 days, giving instructions holding prayer meetings, teaching catechism and preaching every day, repressing evil conduct, rooting out scandals, rarely mentioning controverted dogmatic subjects because they know nothing about them. These ministers have no education beyond what they receive in the common schools — just a little reading and writing. If they prove themselves energetic during their missions and give any evidence of godliness or zeal they are accepted as ministers after giving them some short instructions regarding forms and ceremonies which they learn more effectively by practice. They are now [full-fledged] ministers. They dress rather modestly in black clothes. Their usual and regular method of instruction is an explanation of the Bible. They read some moral passage on which they talk just as long as they wish, and then pass on to

instructions pour les formes et cérémonies qu'ils apprennent encore plus par l'usage. Les voilà missionnaires. Ils sont vêtus assez modestement en habit noir. L'explication de la bible le livre à la main est leur manière d'instruire commune et ordinaire. Ils lisent un sujet de morale sur lequel ils parlent aussi longtemps qu'ils veulent, et passent ensuite à un autre sans commenter littéralement ne sachant ni le latin ni le grec, ni l'hébreu ni les pères. La plupart de ces missionnaires presbytériens sont du Connecticut; c'est là qu'est le centre de la mission, c'est là que les chefs des missionnaires doivent rendre compte de leurs travaux. Cette administration a des fonds assurés mais principalement fournis des charités des chrétiens, qui dans chaque mission donnent à leur gré lors de la quête générale faite dans chaque maison. Les missionnaires ainsi prennent là-dessus leur nourriture et entretien et comme ils vivent dans le tems de la mission dans les maisons des particuliers qui les reçoivent gratuitement, ils ont du reste qu'ils envoient fidèlement à l'administration dans le Connecticut. Un de ces missionnaires, chef de mission de plus de soixante ans, m'a donné toutes ces particularités, et l'ayant engagé à se borner à des discours de morale et à l'explication du Symbole sans entrer dans les matières controversées avec les catholiques, il m'a paru, après une longue conversation, assez bien disposé à cet égard. M'ayant invité même à une de ses instructions et n'ayant accepté l'offre qu'à condition qu'il ne prêcherait que des choses morales, il a été fidèle à sa promesse, et après l'instruction il me demanda si j'étais content de sa fidélité. Je lui témoignais de ma satisfaction et lui renouvelais l'avis de s'en tenir toujours là. Ce qu'il me promit.

Voici les réflexions que je fais : Ne pourroit-on pas regarder ces bonnes gens comme des instituteurs de morale et des bienfaiteurs de l'humanité? Il n'y a

another without any literal commentary as they do not know anything of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or the Fathers. Most of the Presbyterian ministers are from Connecticut where they have their headquarters to which the head missionaries must make a report of their work. The organization has a guaranteed fund ; but most of the revenue is derived from alms contributed by the Christians of each mission who give as they will when the general collection is taken up from house to house. The missionaries also get their board and keep from this, and as they live during their missionary tours in private houses where they are received gratuitously, they have a surplus which they send faithfully to the headquarters in Connecticut. One of the leading missionaries, who is now more than sixty years old, supplied me with these details, and inducing him to confine himself to moral subjects and the explanation of the creed without entering into matters that were subjects of controversy with Catholics, he seemed to me, after a long conversation with him, to be well-disposed in this matter. He invited me to assist at one of his instructions and I accepted the invitation on condition that he would discuss only moral subjects. He kept his promise and after the instruction he asked me if I were satisfied with the manner in which he had acquitted himself. I told him I was, and I added the advice that he adhere to it faithfully. This he promised."

My comment on this subject is this : Should we not regard these men as moral teachers and benefactors of mankind ? There are no Catholics in these recently-settled sections, and would it not be a desirable thing to have the settlers keep in mind the idea of the Christian religion, the notion of a Triune God, a God Incarnate, etc., to keep them from forgetting the commandments of God and their moral obligations as Christians

aucun catholique dans ces contrées nouvellement établies. N'est-il pas avantageux que les habitants ne perdent pas de vue l'idée de la religion chrétienne, d'un Dieu en trois personnes, d'un Dieu incarné, &c., qu'ils n'oublient pas les commandements de Dieu, l'obligé de la morale chrétienne, qu'ils sachent faire des prières chrétiennes, Notre Père &c., Je crois en Dieu, &c. ? Certainement de tems à autre ces ministres, à raison de leurs préjugés et de la fausse doctrine qu'ils ont reçue de leurs pères et de leurs instructeurs, mêleront l'erreur à la vérité et traiteront de superstition des pratiques de l'Eglise romaine, au moins le plus souvent ; mais un jour, comme j'espère, la religion catholique faisant plus de progrès enverra des missionnaires dans ces lieux. S'ils veulent faire de ces chrétiens, hérétiques de bonne foi, des catholiques instruits, ne trouveront-ils pas l'ouvrage pour ainsi dire à moitié fait ? En corrigeant quelques erreurs, leur enseignant l'Ave Maria, en leur expliquant plus exactement le sacrement de l'Eucharistie, &c, si ceux-ci sont d'ailleurs disposés à devenir membres de l'Eglise catholique romaine, que d'avances déjà faites ? Mais il ne faudroit pas que le tems des missions catholiques fût trop retardé, l'erreur seroit plus enracinée et plus difficile à arracher. Au reste quoiqu'il n'y ait dans ces nouveaux établissements aucune congrégation catholique, on trouve néanmoins quelques catholiques, et à même que ces établissements s'agrandissent le nombre des catholiques augmente. C'est ce qu'on a pu appercevoir dans le détail que nous avons donné depuis le commencement de l'ouvrage. Un missionnaire zélé s'attachant à ces catholiques en augmenteroit bientôt le nombre, la congrégation formée deviendrait bientôt un objet d'édification et attireroit les protestants à la véritable religion. C'est ce qu'on a vu dans le Massachusetts à Boston, comme nous allons exposer maintenant.

to teach them their prayers, to say the Our Father, the Creed, etc.? It is quite true that occasionally these ministers on account of inherited prejudice and false teaching shall mix error with truth and too often regard the practices of Roman Church as superstition but as I hope, when Catholicism has made further progress, missionaries will be sent into these sections. If they wish to make these Christians in good faith enlightened Catholics, will they not find their work half done, so to speak. If they be otherwise well disposed to become members of the Catholic Church, their conversion might be effected by correcting certain errors, by teaching them the Hail Mary, by explaining to them more fully the Sacrament of the Eucharist, etc., for the first steps will have been made. But the Catholic missionary activities must not be unduly retarded, for otherwise error would be more deeply implanted and harder to uproot. Furthermore, though there is no Catholic mission in these new settlements, some Catholics may be found there, and as the settlements grow the number of Catholics must increase. This may be inferred from statements made throughout this work. A zealous missionary devoted to these Catholics would soon add to their number, and the mission once established would become a source of edification and attract Protestants to the fold. This has occurred at Boston, in Massachusetts, as we shall see.

MASSACHUSETTS

Le Massachusetts est borné au nord par le Vermont et la Nouvelle Hampshire, à l'est par l'océan Atlantique, au sud par l'Ile de Rhodes et le Connecticut, à l'ouest par la Nouvelle York. Nous ne parlerons pas des différents comtés pour ne pas nous écarter de notre objet ; nous dirons seulement en général que son sol est très fertile et produit beaucoup de grains, qu'il est très bien arrosé par quantité de petites rivières, quelques-unes desquelles se jettant dans le Connecticut qui passe par la partie méridionale de cet état. Les principaux objets de commerce sont le poisson, la viande salée, le bois de charpente et de menuiserie, &c.

On y compte plusieurs manufactures spécialement de clous, de coton, de cartes à jouer, de souliers, de dentelle, &c. Il y a aussi beaucoup de moulins pour le tabac en poudre, l'huile, le chocolat, la poudre à canon, le bois à scier, le grain à moudre, les étoffes à fouler. En 1790 on comptoit presque 70 distilleries de liqueurs fortes dans cet état. C'est un des premiers états de ceux qui réunis forment la Nouvelle Angleterre.

BOSTON

Boston est la capitale du Massachusetts et de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, et maintenant elle tient le quatrième rang pour la grandeur et la population dans les États Unis. Elle est bâtie dans une péninsule qui communique au continent par une petite langue de terre avec Roxbury, et par trois ponts au port de Cambridge et Dorchester. La maison du gouvernement, bâtie près de la colline appelée Beacon fameuse dans l'histoire de la révolution qui a commencé dans cette ville, est le bâtiment le plus magnifique qu'il y ait dans les États Unis. Il y a outre cela une cour de justice, *court-house*, une maison d'aumône, un théâtre, quatre

MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts is bounded on the north by Vermont and New Hampshire, east by the Atlantic ocean, south by Rhode Island and Connecticut, and west by New York. We shall not treat of the different counties but will say in general that its soil is fertile and produces a great deal of grain. It is well watered by a number of small rivers some of which empty into the Connecticut which passes through the middle of this State. Its chief articles of commerce are fish, salt beef, and lumber used in carpentry and cabinet work.

There are several factories for the manufacture of nails, cotton, wool, playing cards, shoes, laces, etc., and a number of mills for the production of snuff, oil, chocolate, gun-powder, sawed lumber, meal, print-stuffs. In 1709, there were nearly 70 spirit distilleries in the State. It is one of the first states in the New England Confederacy.

BOSTON

Boston is the capital of Massachusetts, and of New England, and it ranks fourth in size and population in the United States. It is built on a peninsula and is joined to the mainland by a small tongue of land at Roxbury, and by three bridges with Cambridge and Dorchester. The State House built near Beacon Hill (famous in the history of the Revolution which began in this city) is the finest building in the United States. In addition there are the Court House, or Court of Justice, an Alms House, a theatre, 4 banks, nine churches, three Episcopalian, three Anabaptist and one very beautiful Roman Catholic church recent-

banques, neuf églises trois pour les épiscopaux, trois pour les anabaptistes, et une pour les catholiques romains nouvellement bâtie et très belle. Il y en a encore quatre autres, comme des amis, des méthodistes, des scandinaviens et universaux.

Sept écoles publiques entretenues par le gouvernement renfermant près de 1,000 élèves, sans compter grand nombre d'écoles particulières. Les Bostoniens sont grands amateurs de littérature et de science, et de là tant de sociétés, tant d'académies, de marine, de médecine, d'agriculture, d'histoire. Ils aiment également aussi la société pour d'autres objets, comme la société de chant épiscopale, la société d'humanité, la société de mécanique, la société de librairie, la société des incendies, la société des missionnaires, la société pour la propagation de l'évangile. Au reste les autres villes des États Unis et surtout Philadelphie, New York, et Baltimore ne lui cèdent pas facilement en ce point quoique nous n'en parlons pas en ce lieu. Nous ne nous proposons pas de dire tout, comme dans une histoire complète. Voici maintenant de quelle manière la catholicité s'est établie d'une manière brillante à Boston.

En 1782, si je ne me trompe, c'est-à-dire aux environs de la mort de Benoît Joseph Labre à Rome, il y avoit dans cette ville un ministre presbytérien de Boston, qui voyageoit depuis long tems en Europe comme philosophe observateur des lois, des mœurs et coutumes des différents pays du monde. Ayant entendu parlé dans un café d'un concours prodigieux du peuple au tombeau de ce mendiant et des miracles qu'on disoit y avoir été faits, il s'en moqua avec des plaisanteries très piquantes contre l'Eglise romaine. Quelques uns des assistants lui dirent qu'avant de rejeter ces miracles et de plaisanter sur l'opinion du public dont plusieurs étoient très instruits et d'un caractère très estimable, il

ly built, besides four others belonging to the Quakers, the Methodists, the Scandinavians, and the Universalists.

Seven public schools maintained by the government house 1,000 pupils, without reckoning a large number of private schools. The Bostonians are great lovers of literature and the sciences. This is why we find so many societies, medical, agricultural, and historical associations. They are equally interested in organizations for other purposes. Hence the Episcopal Choral Society, the Humane Society, Mechanics' Society, Library Association, the Underwriters' Association, Missionary Societies, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But in this respect other cities of the United States, especially Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, do not yield precedence to it, though we do not mention these here, as it is not our intention to discuss them as fully as if we were writing a complete history. We will now set forth the glorious manner in which Catholicism was established in Boston.

In 1782 about the time that Benedict Joseph Labre died in Rome — if I am not mistaken — there chanced to be there a Presbyterian minister of Boston who had been travelling some time in Europe as a philosophical observer of the laws, manners, and customs of the different countries of the world. Hearing in a *café* of the great concourse of people who had come to visit this mendicant's grave and the miracles which were said to be performed there, he ridiculed them and made pointed jests regarding the Roman Church. Amongst those present [in the *café*] were some educated people of note who remarked that before rejecting these miracles or sneering at public opinion regarding them, they should first be investigated. After several refusals he consented to examine these frauds (as he termed them). Faithful to promise he went to the graveside in a

convenoit d'examiner auparavant. Après plusieurs refus, il consentit à examiner avec soin toutes ces supercheries, c'est ainsi qu'il s'exprimoit, et tint parole. Il alla au tombeau avec un esprit curieux et critique, et ayant vu s'opérer un miracle sous ses yeux sur un malade, il fit toutes les recherches possibles avec les médecins les plus habiles pour s'assurer si la maladie ou infirmité étoit curable, et si elle pouvoit être faite d'une manière naturellement possible. Après toutes ses recherches réitérées, il trouva et se convainquit qu'il y avoit du surnaturel, et qu'il falloit admettre le miracle. Il coûtoit beaucoup à son amour propre pour se rétracter devant les personnes de la prétendue crédulité desquelles il s'étoit moqué; il apercevoit déjà les conséquences qu'on tireroit en faveur de la religion catholique, et combien il seroit pressé sur cet article. Néanmoins il ne crut pas devoir manquer à la parole qu'il avoit donnée et il revint au café où il trouva les mêmes personnes qu'auparavant. Il se rétracta en faisant ses excuses sur le propos qu'il avoit tenu sur ce qu'il appelloit pratiques superstitieuses, charlatanerie, &c. On ne se borna pas à cette rétractation et comme il s'y attendoit bien, on lui demanda si Dieu pouvoit faire des miracles pour confirmer une religion fausse et ce qu'il devoit penser maintenant de la religion catholique. Comme il étoit honnête et de bonne foi il se rendit bientôt à la proposition qu'on lui fit de proposer ses différens. Éclairé, on le mit entre les mains d'un savant jésuite qui répondit facilement à toutes ses difficultés, écloircit ses doutes, l'instruisit de la doctrine catholique, et la lui fit embrasser après l'avoir fait abjurer l'erreur dans laquelle il avoit jusqu'alors vécu. La cérémonie fut publique et très édifiante. M. Jean Thayer, c'est le nom de notre converti, vécut à Rome encore quelque tems avec les sentimens et la pratique de la plus haute piété, mais pensant à se faire ecclésiastique et prêtre pour réparer le mal qu'il avoit fait comme ministre et procurer la plus grande gloire de Dieu, il vint

critical and curious mood, and having witnessed a miracle wrought on the eyes of an afflicted person, he made a most searching investigation and consulted the most capable doctors to ascertain if the disease were curable and if a cure could be effected by natural means. After repeated investigations he was convinced that there was something supernatural in it and that it must be regarded as miraculous.

It was humiliating for him to retract what he had said in the presence of the people whose supposed credulity he had mocked. He already foresaw the consequences of professing the Catholic faith and what stress should be laid upon this particular incident. Nevertheless he felt obliged to keep his word and to return to the *café* where he found the same persons as before. He made a retraction by apologizing for the remarks he had made regarding superstitious practices, charlatantry, etc. But these persons were not satisfied with this retraction and they asked him if God would perform miracles to sanction a false creed, and what he now thought of the Catholic religion. As he was perfectly honest and in good faith he soon responded to the proposal to expose his difficulties. The scales had fallen from his eyes. He was placed under the direction of a learned Jesuit who replied to all his difficulties, removed his doubts, instructed him in the Catholic faith and brought him into the fold after having first made him abjure the error in which he had hitherto lived. The ceremony was public and was most edifying. Mr. John Thayer⁶⁶ (this is the name of our convert) afterwards lived in Rome for some time with sentiments and manifestations of the greatest devotion. But desiring to become a cleric and a priest to repair the evil he had done as a minister, and work for the greater glory of God, he came to Paris and presented himself to the

à Paris, se présenta aux MM. du Séminaire de St-Sulpice, entra là comme séminariste et y reçut son éducation ecclésiastique jusqu'à la prêtrise.

Il publia alors la relation de sa conversion et de ses motifs de croyance pour la religion catholique ; tout le monde sait combien cette relation fut répandue en France et les grands fruits qu'elle y a produits, en particulier la conversion d'un autre ministre protestant de Montaurais qui vint au séminaire d'Avignon pour demander les instructions, avec lequel j'eus un grand nombre de controverses et de conférences qui se terminèrent par son abjuration très solennelle. Il entra aussi dans l'état ecclésiastique et au commencement de la révolution française il étoit sous-diacre quand je me suis séparé de lui.

M. Thayer alla ensuite à Londres où il fit beaucoup de bien ; il revint ensuite à Paris, où il n'en fit pas moins, et plusieurs anglois et écossois se convertirent à notre religion, attirés par son exemple. Cependant brûlant de zèle pour sa patrie, espérant qu'en allant à Boston il convertiroit sa famille et ses compatriotes, il partit pour l'Amérique. Arrivé à Boston, il donna le défi à tous les ministres dans un papier public de lui prouver qu'il avoit eu tort de quitter son ancienne religion pour embrasser la religion catholique. Un ministre appelé Leslie accepta le défi, et lui ayant écrit une lettre avec les raisons qu'il avançoit contre sa conversion, Mons. Thayer lui répondit avec solidité et profita de l'occasion pour opposer l'autorité de l'Église à la prétendue autorité des écritures interprétées par chacun selon son propre esprit. M. Leslie répliqua, mais faiblement, et après une seconde réponse de M. Thayer il fut obligé de se taire et de s'avouer vaincu. Un autre ministre se présenta, il fut également réduit au silence. Les controverses furent imprimées et lues avec avidité de la

Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, entered there as a seminarian, and made his ecclesiastical studies for the priesthood.

He then published the account of his conversion and his motives for believing in the Catholic religion. It is well known how widely this account was circulated in France and the great good it produced, notably the conversion of another Protestant minister of Montaurais who came to the Seminary of Avignon for instruction and with whom I had many controversies and conferences which ended by his solemn abjuration. He also entered the ecclesiastical state, and when at the beginning of the French Revolution I parted company with him, he was a subdeacon.

Mr. Thayer then went to London where he did a lot of good. He afterwards returned to Paris where he became very active and brought into the fold several English and Scotch converts who were influenced by his example. Yet he longed ardently for his homeland, and hoping that by going to Boston he would bring about the conversion of his relatives and his townsmen, he set out for America. On his arrival in Boston he issued a challenge through the public press to all ministers to prove to him that he did wrong to abandon the religion of his fathers and embrace Catholicism. A minister named Leslie took up the challenge and addressed a communication to Mr. Thayer in which he set forth his arguments against Thayer's conversion. The latter replied very forcibly and profited by the occasion to array the authority of the church against the so-called authority of the private interpretation of the Scriptures. Mr. Leslie issued a feeble rejoinder and after Mr. Thayer's second reply he was reduced to silence and admitted defeat. Another minister entered the lists ; he, too, was silenced. The controversies were printed and eagerly read by the

part du public. M. Thayer demanda plusieurs fois si quelqu'autre vouloit défendre la cause de la religion protestante mais inutilement, jusqu'à ce qu'il reçut la lettre d'un anonyme qui ne parloit pas catholique mais qui rend justice à la manière dont M. Thayer a défendu la religion catholique et lui dit que le silence observé par tous les ministres prouvoit qu'ils étoient vaincus et que tout le public lui donne la palme de la victoire. M. Thayer avoit fait une trop vive impression sur les esprits de ses compatriotes pour ne pas jouir de la douce consolation d'en voir venir quelques-uns à lui demander des instructions et se soumettre à sa conduite. Ils abjurèrent leurs erreurs et commencèrent à former un troupeau catholique, car il n'y en avoit pas auparavant. Il vit bientôt sa congrégation s'accroître jusqu'au nombre de 100. M. l'Évêque l'ayant alors, en 1798, envoyé dans le Kentucky, il lui donna pour successeur M. Matignon, dont nous avons parlé au commencement à l'article du Séminaire de Saint Sulpice à Baltimore. M. Matignon avoit toutes les qualités propres pour opérer de grandes choses à la gloire de l'Église catholique. Ses grands talents étoient joints en lui à une grande piété, un zèle des plus ardents, une prudence exquise, une urbanité qui attire tous les cœurs. Il a donc réussi et au delà de son espérance. La congrégation toute formée de protestants s'accrût avec la plus grande rapidité. On bâtit une belle et grande église, et elle n'est pas suffisante depuis longtems, pour contenir son peuple tout nouveau, on pense à en bâtir une autre. Il demanda un second prêtre pour l'aider dans ses fonctions, ce fut M. de Cheverus, prêtre françois que M. l'Évêque lui envoya. M. de Cheverus, agissant en apôtre, a tellement augmenté l'ouvrage que deux prêtres n'y peuvent suffire.

public. Mr. Thayer several times asked if there were anybody else who wished to defend the cause of the Protestant religion, but without effect, until he received a communication from a correspondent who did not appear to be a Catholic but who commended the manner in which Mr. Thayer had defended the Catholic religion and informed him that the silence observed by all the ministers proved that they had been vanquished and that the public accorded him the palm of victory. The impression which Mr. Thayer had made on the minds of his fellow citizens naturally caused him a great deal of consolation particularly when several came to seek instruction and place themselves under his direction. They abjured their errors and initiated the formation of a Catholic flock, for up to that time there had been none. He soon saw his congregation increased to the number of 100.⁶⁷

The Bishop having sent Mr. Thayer to Kentucky, Mr. Matignon, of whom we have already spoken in the beginning of the chapter the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Baltimore, was appointed his successor, Mr. Matignon was endowed with all the qualities requisite to accomplish great things for the church. He possessed extraordinary ability together with great piety, ardent zeal, remarkably great prudence and an exquisite courtesy which attracted everybody. He was consequently successful beyond his most ardent expectations.⁶⁸

The congregation, composed exclusively of converts from Protestantism, increased very rapidly. A splendid, attractive church was built and it is already inadequate for the congregation. To meet its requirements a new one is in contemplation. He asked for another priest to help him in his ministerial work and the Bishop sent Mr. Cheverus, a French priest, to help him. Mr. Cheverus' apostolate was so successful that two priests are unable to do the work. What Catho-

Et encore quels sont les catholiques de Boston ? le modèle de tous les États Unis, avides de la parole de Dieu qu'ils reçoivent plusieurs fois tous les dimanches et fêtes, le matin et le soir, et même tous les jours après la sainte messe à laquelle ils ne manquent pas d'assister. Leur réputation est si bien établie, même parmi les protestants, qu'il n'y a qu'une manière de penser là dessus. M. William Hull, aussitôt qu'il fût arrivé au Détroit, ne cessa pas ainsi que sa famille de nous raconter le bien que faisoient M. Matignon et M. Cheverus et la bonne odeur qu'exhalait cette fervente congrégation ; à plusieurs reprises, ils demandèrent à M. Richard de leur procurer des serviteurs et des servantes catholiques, ayant grande confiance dans leur crainte de Dieu, dans leur probité et dans leur zèle pour le service de leurs maîtres. Cette congrégation est de 3 ou 4 mille, tel est son progrès dans neuf ans. Auparavant il n'y en avait que 100.

DISTRICT DE MAINE

Le district de Maine est joint ordinairement au Massachusetts. Il est borné au nord par le Canada, à l'est par la Nouvelle Brunswick, au sud par l'océan Atlantique, à l'ouest par la Nouvelle Hampshire. Il y fait très froid en hiver, mais le climat est très sain. Le pays est très uni et ne forme qu'une seule plaine sans montagnes. Le sol est très fertile et propre à toutes sortes de productions de la terre qu'on voit dans les autres contrées septentrionales. Le bois et le poisson sec sont le principal objet du commerce. La population monte environ à 150,000 âmes. Aussi pense-t-on à en faire un état séparé. La législature de Massa-

lies these Bostonians are ! model for the whole of the United States, most eager to hear the word of God, which is preached to them several times on Sundays and holydays, morning and evening, and even on the other days after Holy Mass at which they never fail to assist. Their reputation is such even among Protestants that there can be but one way of viewing it. Mr. William Hull and his family, just as soon as they arrived in Detroit never ceased to talk of the great good that was being done by Mr. Matignon and Mr. Cheverus and the extraordinary fervor of this [Boston] congregation. On several occasions the Hull family asked Mr. Richard to procure for them Catholic men and women-servants as they had the greatest confidence in them as they were God-fearing and perfectly loyal in the service rendered to their employers. The congregation at Boston has made such progress in nine years that it now numbers between 3 and 4 thousand. Previously there were only 100 [persons there.]

DISTRICT OF MAINE

The District of Maine is usually associated with Massachusetts. It is bounded on the north by Canada, east by New Brunswick, south by the Atlantic Ocean, and west by New Hampshire. It is very cold there in winter, but the climate is very healthy. The country is quite uniform, being one continuous level tract without any mountains. The soil is very fertile and suitable for the production of such crops as can be grown in other northern counties. Lumber and fish are the chief commercial commodities. The population is approximately 150,000 souls, hence there is a move to erect it into a separate State. The Legislature of Massa-

chusetts a accordé le droit d'un collège à établir à Brunswick en 1795, et ce collège a été en exercice en 1802. Le Maine est divisé en plusieurs comtés. Nous ne faisons ici mention que du comté de Washington. Machias en est la capitale. Cette ville est petite mais très commerçante. Passamaquoddy n'est qu'un petit village sur la baie de même nom. Les *stages* ou diligences ne vont pas plus loin, et il y a là une congrégation catholique où M. Ciquard, Sulpicien, à son arrivée en Amérique fut envoyé.

Le comté de Hancock mérite aussi notre attention. La capitale est Castine sur la baie Penobscot, et cette ville est très florissante. Penobscot est le nom d'une nation de sauvages très ancienne composée de 4 ou 5 cents âmes. Ils vivent dans une ville très ancienne bâtie dans une île de la rivière Penobscot qui renferme 4 ou 500 arpents. Ils font remonter l'ancienneté de cette ville à cinquante ans. Ils vivent en sauvages, selon la règle d'une société civilisée et sont tous bons catholiques. Au lieu de diminuer, ils augmentent toujours en nombre. Les chefs ont soin de faire marier les jeunes gens de très bonne heure, et ils les y obligent. Leur gouvernement est celui des anciens. Ils avoient perdu leurs terres dans une guerre précédente, mais au moment de la révolution américaine le congrès leur accorda quatre lieues dans l'intérieur des terres. Ils ont même le droit de chasser et de pêcher jusque dans le milieu de la rivière, de son embouchure dans toute l'étendue de la baie. Dans leur ville il y a une église avec un clocher et une cloche. M. Romagné y réside actuellement, et dans le cas qu'il n'y ait pas de prêtre résident les prêtres catholiques de Boston sont chargés d'y aller de tems en tems faire mission dans cette congrégation. Ils paraissent fort attachés à leur religion. Avant l'arrivée des Sulpiciens en Amérique, ils avoient quelque tems auparavant envoyé une délégation

chusetts made a grant for the establishment of a college at Brunswick in 1795; and this college was in operation in 1802. Maine is divided into several counties, but here we mention only Washington County, Machias, the Capital is small town but it is commercially important. Passamaquoddy is just a little village on the bay of the same name. The stages do not run farther. There is a Catholic mission here to which Mr. Ciquard, a Sulpician, was appointed on his arrival in America. Hancock County also deserves our attention. The capital Castine which is a very flourishing place, is situated on Penobscot Bay. Penobscot is the name of an old Indian tribe comprising 4 or 5 hundred souls. The Indians live in an old town built on an island of some 4 or 500 acres in extent on the Penobscot River. They claim an antiquity of 150 years for their tribe. They live a civilized life in Indian fashion and they are all Catholics. Instead of dying out their number is gradually increasing. The chiefs see to it that the young people marry at an early age and oblige them to do so. Their form of government is that of the primitives. They had lost their lands in consequence of their warlike attitude some years before the American Revolution, but at the time of the Revolution, Congress granted them a reservation of four leagues inland. They have hunting and fishing rights to mid-stream from the mouth of the River, and all over the Bay. Their village has a church with a belfry and a bell. Mr. Romagné resides there just now, and in the event that there is no resident priest, the priests of Boston are obliged to visit them from time to time and give a mission. They seem to be deeply attached to their religion. They had some time previous to the arrival of the Sulpicians in America, sent a delegation to the Bishop of Baltimore to ask him for a priest. They brought him a large crucifix which

tion à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore pour en obtenir un prêtre. Ils lui apportèrent un grand crucifix qu'ils disoient leur avoir été donné au commencement par les pères Jésuites, et qu'ils conservoient avec un grand respect religieux ; mais par défaut de prêtres et de missionnaires ils avoient oublié leurs prières et leur religion. M. Ciquard ayant été envoyé fut très bien reçu, et pendant tout le tems qu'il a été chez eux il a exercé son zèle avec le plus grand fruit ; il envoyait des relations très détaillées et très édifiantes à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore. Après M. Ciquard les prêtres de Boston allèrent les visiter jusqu'au moment où M. Romagné y fixa sa résidence. Il paroît qu'il y fait beaucoup de fruit puisqu'il reste séparé et éloigné de tout autre prêtre à une très grande distance, et que d'ailleurs le nombre de catholiques augmente de jour en jour.

NOUVELLE JERSEY ET DELAWARE

La Nouvelle Jersey et l'état de Delaware ont un grand nombre de catholiques dispersés ou réunis en de petites congrégations qui ont des chapelles mais point d'églises. Il y a des prêtres voisins ou de New York ou de Philadelphie qui les visitent de tems à autre. S'il y avoit un plus grand nombre de prêtres dans les États Unis, et qu'un ou deux prêtres fussent constamment chargés de ces missions, on les verroit s'accroître dans peu avec surprise comme on l'a déjà vu dans les endroits où il y avait des missionnaires zélés et constants. Les états que nous venons de parcourir sont ceux que nous appellons septentrionaux ; nous les quittons maintenant pour passer aux états méridionaux qui étant moins considérables pour la population nous offrent

they said they had received at the time of their conversion from the Jesuit Fathers and that they had kept it most religiously, but for want of priests and missionaries they had forgotten their prayers and their religion. Mr. Ciquard having been sent to them was most cordially welcomed and during the time he was among them he labored most zealously and with great results. He sent very detailed and very edifying reports to the Bishop of Baltimore. After Mr. Ciquard's time the priests of Boston visited them until Mr. Romagné went to reside among them. It appears that he is doing an immensity of good, notwithstanding that he is far removed from any other priest. The number of Catholics is increasing there steadily.

NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE

New Jersey and the State of Delaware have quite a number of Catholics scattered throughout the country or gathered in little congregations which have chapels but no churches. Neighboring priests either from New York or Philadelphia visit them from time to time. If there were more priests in the United States and if one or two priests were regularly in charge of these missions they would doubtless increase surprisingly, just as other missions have done where zealous missionaries are regularly engaged.⁶⁹

The States which we have discussed are those called the northern. We must now pass on to the Southern States which being less populous have fewer Catholic churches and missions. We shall return to the Northern States, or to the new Northern States when we discuss the States organized in what were formerly known as

un moindre nombre d'églises et de congrégations catholiques. Mais nous reviendrons aux états septentrionaux ou aux états nouveaux septentrionaux lorsque nous parlerons des états formés dans ce qu'on appelloit autrefois le Canada ou Louisiane dans un sens plus étendu qu'à présent, et que nous y donnerons les détails sur les congrégations formées de françois, canadiens-françois, anglois ou américains.

LA VIRGINIE

La Virginie est bornée au nord par le Maryland, la Pensylvanie et l'Ohio, à l'ouest par le Kentucky, au sud par le Tennessee et la Caroline Nord, à l'est par l'océan Atlantique. Le climat de la Virginie est tempéré, cependant à raison de sa grande étendue il y a de la variété à cet égard. Les montagnes d'Alleganie occupent la moitié de cet état sous différents noms, et lorsqu'on approche de ces montagnes on sent l'air se refroidir quoi qu'en conservant la même latitude on ne dût s'attendre à aucun changement. D'un autre côté plus on approche du sud, plus on sent la chaleur paraître et dans l'été elle devient excessive. Néanmoins la Virginie en général est un pays très salubre et accommodé à toutes sortes de tempéraments. Le sol y est très fertile excepté dans les montagnes dont quelques-unes ne sont que des rochers. On y cultive le tabac qui fait le principal objet du commerce de cet état. Il produit aussi beaucoup de blé d'inde, de coton, de lin, de chanvre, de froment. En plusieurs endroits on fait du bon cidre et une excellente liqueur de pêches qui y sont en abondance surtout dans la partie orientale de la Virginie.

Canada and Louisiana in a larger sense than at the present time, and we shall then give details regarding the missions established by the French, French-Canadians, English or Americans.

VIRGINIA

Virginia is bounded on the north by Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, west by Kentucky, south by Tennessee and North Carolina, and east by the Atlantic Ocean. The climate of Virginia is temperate, yet on account of its size there is a great variation in this regard. The Alleghany Mountains under various designation cover half the State, and as you approach the mountain region you feel the air grow colder, though one should not expect such a change whilst in the same degree of latitude. On the other hand, as you move southwards, you begin to find it warmer, and in summer the heat becomes excessive. Still, in general, Virginia is a very healthy country and suits all sorts of constitutions. The soil is very fertile except in the mountain regions in some of which you find nothing but rocks. Tobacco, which is the chief commercial commodity, is extensively cultivated here; and the State also produces a good deal of Indian corn, cotton, flax, hemp, and wheat. In some sections they make excellent cider and a splendid cordial from peaches which are very plentiful, especially in the eastern part of Virginia. These products, with the addition of hay, tar, and turpentine constitute the chief business of the State. In point of population Virginia ranks first in the United States, having nearly

Tous ces articles différents, en y joignant la poix, le goudron, la térébenthine constituent le commerce de cet état. Pour la population, la Virginie tient le premier rang dans les États Unis. On y compte près d'un million d'habitants dont 400 mille sont nègres et esclaves. La Virginie est l'état le plus ancien et le plus distingué par les hommes qu'il a produits comme Washington et Jefferson, le plus riche, le plus étendu. Les habitants sont polis, généreux, hospitaliers, charitables, mais une grande classe en est portée beaucoup aux jeux publics et particulièrement à la boisson, à la bonne chère, à l'oisiveté, à l'indolence. Les nègres font presque tout l'ouvrage. On a beaucoup à craindre du grand nombre de ces nègres. Ils se sont révoltés plus d'une fois contre leurs maîtres et ont conspiré contre leur vie. Maintenant qu'il est décidé que l'esclavage serait détruit et que l'année prochaine aucune importation de nègres ne sera permise dans les États Unis, ces craintes augmenteront encore. La constitution de cet état a été le modèle sur lequel les autres ont formé la leur.

NORFOLK

Norfolk est la capitale du comté de même nom, et une (ville) des plus considérables de la Virginie. Elle est située sur le bord orientale de la rivière Elizabeth. Cette rivière est très large et rend Norfolk une ville très commerçante, les bâtiments y trouvant jusqu'à dix-huit pieds d'eau. Le port est très sûr et capable de contenir 300 vaisseaux marchands. Son commerce est avec les Indes occidentales, avec l'Europe et tous les autres états, et conjointement avec Portsmouth,

a million inhabitants of whom 400,000 are negroes and slaves. Virginia is the oldest and most remarkable state in the Union by reason of the distinguished men it has produced, such as Washington and Jefferson; it is likewise the richest and largest in area. The people are polite, generous, hospitable and charitable, but a large class are addicted to gambling, high living, idleness, indolence, and are especially noted as tipplers. Negroes do most of the work ; and there is much to be feared from them, as more than once they have risen in rebellion again their masters and have threatened their lives. As it has been decreed that slavery is to be abolished and that next year the importation of slaves into the United States will be prohibited, the fear of negro uprisings will be accentuated. The Constitution of this State has served as the model for the Constitutions in all the other states.⁷⁰

NORFOLK

Norfolk is the capital of the county of the same name, and it is one of the most important towns in Virginia. It is situated on the eastern shore of the Elizabeth River. This river is very wide and thus makes Norfolk a very important commercial town, as it is deep enough for vessels drawing 18 feet of water. The harbor is safe and sufficiently large to shelter 300 merchant vessels. It does business with the West Indies, Europe and all the other states, and with Portsmouth on the

qui est à l'autre bord opposé, elle forme un port d'entrée. Cette ville jusqu'ici n'a pas été bien bâtie. Elle fut brûlée en 1776 par ordre du gouverneur anglais, le Lord Dunmore et rebâtie comme auparavant en bois. En 1804 elle a essuyé un incendie qui l'a consumée presque tout entière, mais dans peu elle a été rebâtie solidement en brique. On y compte 7,000 habitants. Son sol est assez fertile, mais c'est principalement le tabac, le goudron, la térébenthine, viande de porc, le poisson salé qui fournissent à son commerce et à son exportation dans les différents États Unis.

Dans Norfolk il y a une église pour les épiscopaux, une autre pour les méthodistes et une pour les catholiques romains ; celle-ci est toute neuve et très belle. J'ai vu l'année dernière M. Lacy, prêtre irlandais, qui en est le curé, venir et séjourner longtemps à Baltimore pour obtenir une souscription à cet effet. Elle a réussi au delà de ses désirs, et l'église a été promptement bâtie.

ALEXANDRIE

On appelle aussi cette ville Belhaven. Elle est située sur la rivière Potowmack dans le comté de Fairfax, à une lieue et demie de la ville fédérale (Washington). La situation est belle étant sur un lieu élevé avec de jolies points de vue. Elle est aussi une des plus grandes, des plus belles, des plus commerçantes de la Virginie. bâtie sur le même plan que celui de Baltimore. Les rues sont larges. Le commerce d'Alexandrie est très considérable et augmentera encore à raison de sa proximité du siège du gouvernement. Néanmoins, dans la supposition que l'accroissement de Washington se réalise, ce que nous regardons comme très problématique, malgré

opposite side of the river is a port of entry. The town has not been well built. It was burned in 1776 by order of the English Governor, Lord Dunmore, and rebuilt as before with wooden structures. In 1804, a fire destroyed nearly the whole town but it was rebuilt in brick. It has a population of 7,000 people. The soil is fairly fertile, but its chief export trade consists of tobacco, turpentine, pork and salt fish furnished to other states of the Union. It has an Episcopal, a Methodist, and a fine Catholic church built recently. Last year I met the pastor, Mr. Lacy, an Irish priest, who had come to Baltimore in order to raise a subscription for this purpose. It was a great success, and the church was built very promptly.⁷¹

ALEXANDRIA

This town is also called Belhavens. It is situated on the Potomac River one league-and-a-half distant from the Federal Capital — Washington. It is finely located on a knoll with a splendid outlook. It is moreover one of the most flourishing towns in Virginia and is built after the plan of Philadelphia, with wide streets. The trade of Alexandria is quite important and will doubtless grow owing to its proximity to the seat of government, provided that the development of Washington be realized, which we regard as very problematical notwith-

les efforts de ceux qui gouvernent les États Unis. Les maisons y sont très bien bâties et fort jolies, et on y compte plus de 7,000 habitants dont 1,000 sont esclaves. Il n'y a pas d'église d'aucune sorte, mais il y a des catholiques en grand nombre et la chapelle qu'ils ont peut être considérée comme une église. Cette congrégation est desservie par M. Gousy.

RICHMOND

Richmond est située sur la rivière Jacques dans le comté de Henrico dont elle est la capitale. Elle est très bien bâtie, et la maison du gouvernement est appelée le Capitole. La ville est divisée en haute et basse. Il y a une seule église pour les épiscopaux. Il y a aussi des catholiques, mais faute de prêtres ils n'ont ni église ni chapelle. On voit dans cette ville la statue de Washington qui a été faite à Paris, et un beau pont de bois qui a 1,100 verges de longueur. Richmond contient 6,000 habitants et son commerce est considérable.

WILLIAMSBURG

Williamsburg étoit autrefois la capitale de l'état. Cette ville est très régulière, les rues droites, mais le Capitole tombe en ruines. Ce n'est même qu'un monceau de ruines. On y voit une belle statue de Botschourt, gouverneur de Virginie, de grands bâtiments pour le collège de Guillaume et de Marie, capable de contenir 100 étudiants ; mais ce nombre n'est pas rempli. Ce collège, brûlé dans le tems de guerre et dont

standing the efforts of the political leaders in the United States. The houses at Alexandria are well built and present a good appearance. It has a population of 7,000 people of whom 1,000 are slaves. There is no church of any kind, but there are quite a number of Catholics there and their chapel may be regarded as a church. The mission is attended by Mr. Gousy.⁷²

RICHMOND

Richmond is situated on the James River in the County of Henrico of which it is the county seat. It is a well built town and the State House is called the Capitol. The town is divided into two sections — the Upper and the Lower. There is only one church, which belongs to the Episcopalians. There are quite a number of Catholics here, but owing to the scarcity of priests they have neither church nor chapel.⁷³ The town has a monument to Washington, sculptured in Paris and a fine wooden bridge 1,100 yards in length. Richmond has a population of 6,000 people and its trade is quite important.

WILLIAMSBURG

Williamsburg was formerly the capital of the state. The town is quite regularly built with straight streets, but the Capitol is falling into decay. It has a fine statue of Bottcourt, governor of Virginia, and a large institution — William and Mary College — built to accomodate 100 students, but it has never had that number enrolled. It was used as an hospital for French troops during the Revolutionary War and burned, but was

l'armée française avoit fait un hôpital, a été rétabli au dépens du gouvernement français. Dans ce collège il y a un professeur pour l'instruction des sauvages. Cette place a été fondée par la générosité de M. Royle un anglois. Il y a une église pour les épiscopaux mais aucune église ni chapelle pour les catholiques qui y sont en assez grand nombre mais abandonnés à eux-mêmes. Il en est de même à Fredericksburg et à Petersburg dont je me dispenserai de donner la description. Les prêtres missionnaires qui visiteront cette ville pourront en connaître l'importance pour la religion et les espérances qu'ils peuvent former d'une congrégation à établir, d'une église à bâtir. C'est dans cette intention que j'ai parlé des deux villes précédentes.

WINCHESTER

Cette ville de Virginie est la capitale du comté Frederick. Elle est située à la source de la rivière Opegon qui se jette dans le Potowmac. Elle est belle et dans un état brillant, placée sur un terrain bas, raboteux et inégal. On y voit de très beaux bâtimens parmi lesquels sont la cour de justice, une église des presbytériens, une église d'épiscopaux, une église de méthodistes et une église de catholiques. Le commerce est principalement en farine. Elle a été autrefois fortifiée, mais les ouvrages de fortifications sont maintenant en ruine. On y compte deux mille habitans. Cette congrégation est visitée par M. Duhamel. Si on avoit suffisamment de prêtres, ce seroit une place convenable pour un prêtre qui voudroit y fixer sa résidence.

rebuilt at the expense of the French Government, It has a professorship for the education of Indians, established through the generosity of an Englishman named Royle. The Episcopalians have a church here, but the Catholics, though quite numerous, have neither church nor chapel, and they are left to their own resources. The same must be said of Petersburg and Fredericksburg which I must pass over. Missionary priests who may visit these localities will see how important it is in the interest of religion that a mission should be established and a church built, and how means may be devised to bring this about. This is why I have mentioned the two towns alluded to.

WINCHESTER

This town, in Virginia, is the county seat of Frederick County, and it is situated at the headwater of Opequon Creek which empties into the Potomac. It is a nice town and very prosperous, built on a low, rugged and hummocky tract. It has several fine buildings, among which are a court-house, a Presbyterian church, an Episcopal church, a Methodist church and a neat newly-built Catholic church. Its trade consists chiefly of flour. Formerly the town was fortified, but the fortifications are now in ruins. It has a population of two thousand. This mission is visited by Mr. Duhamel. If there were sufficient priests this would be a desirable place for a priest to reside.⁷⁴

MARTINSBURG

Martinsburg est dans le comté de Berkley dont elle est la capitale. Le pays des environs est très fertile et très bien cultivé. On y compte 1,100 habitants. Il y a une église pour les épiscopaux, une autre pour les presbytériens, et auprès de la ville une congrégation et chapelle de catholiques romains visitées par M. Duhamel.

La Caroline du nord ne nous occupera pas. Le défaut de missionnaires a empêché qu'on y formât des congrégations. Il y a cependant des catholiques pour en former.

LA CAROLINE SUD

La Caroline Sud est bornée au nord par la Caroline Nord, à l'est par l'Atlantique, au sud et au sud-ouest par la rivière Savannah qui la sépare de la Georgie. Cet état se trouve dans un climat très chaud, et presque brûlant ; mais aussi les hivers y sont très doux du côté de la mer. C'est une plaine continuelle sans aucune montagne à 20 lieues.

Dans l'intérieur est un pays stérile étrangement diversifié par des collines de sable qui ressemblent aux flots d'une mer agitée, mais à 20 lieues plus loin commence un terrain élevé et très fertile. Plus loin encore vers l'ouest tout des montagnes sans interruption.

La Caroline Sud produit du riz en abondance, ce qui forme le principal commerce de l'état. On y voit aussi

MARTINSBURG

Martinsburg is in the County of Berkley, of which it is the county-seat. The surrounding country is very fertile and in a high state of cultivation. It has a population of 1,100 and two churches, one Episcopal and one Presbyterian. Near the town there is a Catholic mission with a church visited by Mr. Duhamel.

We will not deal with North Carolina. Lack of missionaries precludes the establishment of missions here ; there are, however, Catholics enough to warrant them.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina is bounded on the north by North Carolina, east by the Atlantic, south and south-west by the Savannah River which separates it from Georgia. This State is situated in a warm climate, almost torrid, yet the winters are very pleasant along the sea coast. It is a continuous plain without mountains for about 20 leagues. In the interior the country is barren and diversified by sand dunes not unlike turbulent waves of the sea ; but beyond this toward the west is an elevated table-land.

South Carolina produces an abundance of rice which constitutes its chief commercial commodity. It also produces tobacco, rye, oats, barley, hemp, flax, cotton,

du tabac, du blé, du seigle, de l'avoine, de l'orge, du chanvre, du lin, du coton, de la soye et dans certains endroits du blé d'inde ; les principaux fruits sont les oranges, les figues, les lemons, les grenades, les poires, les pêches, les pommes y sont très rares ; mais les melons et surtout les melons d'eau sont dans la plus grande perfection.

On fait monter la population de cet état à 400 mille habitans dont près de la moitié sont nègres esclaves. Les religions de ce pays sont : les épiscopaux, les presbytériens, les indépendants, les anabaptistes, les méthodistes, les quakers, les protestants français, les protestants allemands luthériens et les catholiques romains. Les juifs y ont deux synagogues. Il y a dans cet état 3 collèges, un à Charleston, un autre à Winsborough qui est un des plus beaux des états méridionaux, et un troisième à Cambridge. La législature se propose d'établir une université à Columbia. Nous n'avons pas les divisions qu'on donne de la Caroline Sud, qu'on divise en 9 districts. Nous parlerons ici seulement de Charleston.

CHARLESTON

Charleston, au confluent des deux rivières Ashley et Cooper, est la capitale de l'état de la Caroline Sud, la plus grande (ville) de cet état et la 5ième des États Unis. Elle est bâtie régulièrement, les rues alignées pas trop étroites pour un climat aussi chaud. Les édifices publics sont un hôtel de change, un hôtel de gouvernement rebâti depuis peu, un arsenal, une maison pour les pauvres, environ 16 églises et deux synagogues pour les juifs. L'air y est si sain, le climat si salubre que l'on y voit venir des convalescents des pays

soy beans, figs, lemons, pomegranates, peas, peaches, apples hardly at all ; but watermelons thrive there splendidly.

The population of this State is estimated at 400 thousand people of whom nearly half are negro slaves. The following religious denominations are found there : Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, French Protestants, Protestant Germans, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics ; the Jews have two synagogues. There are three colleges in the state, one at Charleston, one at Winsborough, which is one of the finest colleges in the Southern states, and a third at Cambridge. The Legislature proposes to establish a university at Columbia. We have not the divisions given for South Carolina which is divided into 9 districts. We will speak here only of Charleston.⁷⁵

CHARLESTON

Charleston, situated at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers is the capital of the State of South Carolina, the largest town in the State and ranks fifth among the cities of the United States. It is built quite regularly and the streets run parallel to each other and are not too narrow for such a warm climate. The public buildings are: the Exchange, the State Citadel recently rebuilt, an Arsenal, and the Alms House, about 16 churches and two Jewish Synagogues. The air of the city is so delightful and the climate is so healthy that invalids from the countries further south, and even

plus bas méridionaux et même des indes occidentales pour recouvrer la santé et les forces. Les habitants de Charleston sont très charitables et très honnêtes envers les hospitaliers, et ils en ont donné une nouvelle preuve dans la manière dont ils ont accueilli les réfugiés français de St-Domingue ; ils ont aussi donné l'exemple à des autres villes qui les ont imités comme Philadelphie et New York et surtout Baltimore qui s'est beaucoup plus distinguée que les autres en cet endroit, de sorte qu'elle contient maintenant plus de français réfugiés et établis que toute autre ville des États Unis. Le commerce de cette ville se fait avec les indes occidentales et orientales, avec la France, l'Espagne, la Hollande, l'Irlande, la Grande Bretagne. Ses exportations consistent principalement en riz, indigo, tabac, pelleterie, viande salée, coton, cuir, goudron, et son commerce est d'autant plus considérable qu'il n'est jamais interrompu par les glaces comme à Baltimore et encore plus vers le nord.

On estime sa population aller jusqu'à 25 mille habitants. La congrégation catholique est très considérable et demande 2 prêtres. L'un est M. Gallagher, prêtre irlandais, et l'autre, M. Mercier, français européen, vient de périr dans un naufrage sur la côte qui est très dangereuse surtout le printems et dans le tems des équinoxes. M. Gallagher se trouve donc seul pour cette congrégation composée principalement d'irlandais et de français. Il y a longtemps qu'il y exerce les fonctions de pasteur et il a acquis la réputation de grand orateur ; c'est un homme plein de talens et très actif, attaché à sa congrégation qui le paye de retour.

from the West Indies resort there to convalesce. The people of Charleston are most charitable and extremely kind to those in distress. They gave ample proof of this by the way in which they welcomed the French refugees from St. Domingo. They set the example for other cities which received them, such as Philadelphia, New York, and notably Baltimore which outdid all the others in this respect. The result is that at the present day we find more refugees settled there than in any other city of the United States. Charleston does business with France, Spain, Holland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the East and the West Indies; its exports consist chiefly of rice, indigo, tobacco, skins, salt beef, cotton, leather, tar, and its extensive trade is largely due to its not being hampered by ice such as are Baltimore and places further north.

Its population is estimated at 25 thousand people. The Catholic congregation there is quite large and needs the services of two priests, one of whom is Mr. Gallagher, an Irishman, the other, Mr. Mercier, [Le Mercier], a European Frenchman, was lost recently in a shipwreck on the coast which is very treacherous, especially in winter and during the equinoctials. Mr. Gallagher is, consequently, alone to minister to a congregation composed of Irish and French. He has been a long time pastor there and he has acquired the reputation of being a distinguished orator. He is a very able man, most energetic, and very much attached to his congregation who appreciate his worth."

LA GEORGIE

La Georgie est bornée au nord par le Tennessee et la Caroline Sud, à l'est par la Caroline Sud et la mer Atlantique, au sud par la Floride, et à l'ouest par le territoire Mississippi. Ce pays est très chaud se trouvant si voisin de la zone torride. Cependant le sol y est assez fertile et produit abondamment du riz, de l'indigo, du coton, de la soie, du blé d'inde, des patates très douces, des oranges, des figues, des grenades et autres fruits du tropique. Il est surtout très propre pour la culture du vin et deviendra le vignoble de l'Amérique. On compte dans la Georgie environ 20,000 habitants dont le tiers est esclave. Ce pays a été peuplé par les différentes nations de l'Europe et par l'émigration des autres états américains. L'université de Georgie a été établie à Louisville et il y a ailleurs plusieurs collèges. C'est sous le règne de Georges Second qu'elle a été établie en 1732 par une colonie d'anglois et d'irlandois; de là elle a pris le nom de Georgie. Cet état a beaucoup souffert et longtemps par la guerre qu'il eut à soutenir contre les sauvages, les Crees qui habitent la partie occidentale. Mais la paix qu'on a faite avec eux mit fin aux malheurs. La partie sud-ouest de cet état est encore occupée par les sauvages qu'on appelle Crees. La partie orientale est divisée en deux districts, la haute et la basse Georgie, chacune en 24 comtés que nous laisserons sans description n'ayant à parler que de deux villes Savannah et Augusta.

SAVANNAH

Nous mettons Savannah la première parce qu'elle a été la plus ancienne et la capitale de la Georgie, et parce qu'elle réclame encore le titre de capitale.

GEORGIA

Georgia is bounded on the north by Tennessee and South Carolina, east by South Carolina and the Atlantic Ocean, south by Florida, and west by Mississippi territory. The country is very hot as it borders on the torrid zone, yet the soil there is very fertile and produces abundantly rice, indigo, oranges, figs, pomegranates, and other tropical fruits. It is very suitable for viticulture and will become the vineyard of America. It has a population of nearly 20,000 inhabitants of whom one-third are slaves. This region was settled by different European nationalities and by emigration from the other American states. The University of Georgia is located in Louisville and there are besides several colleges. Georgia was settled in 1732 in the reign of George II by a colony of English and Irish ; hence the name of Georgia. This state has suffered much from wars waged with the Creek Indians who inhabit the western part ; but a treaty of peace made with them has put an end to disasters. The southwestern section of the State is still occupied by the Creeks. The eastern part of the State is divided into Upper and Lower Georgia, each section being divided into 24 counties, which we shall not describe as we are interested only in the two cities of Savannah and Augusta.⁷

SAVANNAH

We give first place to Savannah since it is the older and was formerly the capital of Georgia. It is at all events

Elle est au moins celle du comté de Chatham, et est située sur la rivière qui porte son nom. Cette ville est sur un plan régulier et dans la forme d'un parallélogramme. Savannah est la ville la plus grande des états méridionaux, si on excepte Charleston. En 1796 elle fut consumée par un incendie assez considérable ; mais cette partie consumée étoit bientôt rétablie. Son commerce consiste en riz, indigo, coton, tabac, etc., et sa population ne répond pas à sa grandeur puisqu'on n'y compte pas 6,000 âmes. Il n'y a point d'église pour les protestants, mais il y en a une pour les catholiques romains et une congrégation considérable composée principalement d'irlandois et de français ; il n'y a point de prêtre dans ce moment. M. Mercier, dont nous avons parlé ci-dessus, y a été résident assez longtems, mais depuis qu'il avoit quitté Savannah pour demeurer à Charleston il ne fut pas remplacé, M. l'Évêque n'ayant pas d'autre prêtre à y envoyer.

AUGUSTA

Augusta, située sur la même rivière Savannah, est la capitale du comté de Richmond et même de tout l'état de la Georgie, étant le siège du gouvernement. Le territoire où elle est placée est très sain et très fertile. Comme la plupart des autres villes des États Unis, elle est bâtie sur un plan régulier, les rues bien alignées et se coupant en parallèles. On y remarque quelques édifices publics comme la maison du gouvernement, la cour de justice, la prison, l'académie ou collège et une église catholique, mais il n'y a point de prêtre quoique la congrégation y soit nombreuse et que

the chief town of Chatham County, and is situated on the river of the same name. Savannah is laid out on a regular plan in the form of a parallelogram and is the largest city in the southern states except Charleston. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1796, but the burned sections were soon rebuilt. Its trade consists of rice, indigo, cotton, tobacco, etc. The population is not proportionate to the size of the city, as it is less than 6,000 souls. There is no Protestant church, but there is a Catholic church which has a fairly large congregation, chiefly French and Irish. There is no priest there at the present time. Mr. Mercier [Le Mercier] of whom we have spoken above, resided there for a time but since he left there to reside in Charleston, no one has been appointed in his stead, the Bishop having no other priest to send.

AUGUSTA

Augusta, situated on the same Savannah River, is the chief city of Richmond County and the capital of the State of Georgia, being the seat of government. The section in which it is located is very healthy and very fertile. Like the greater part of the cities of the United States it is built on regular lines, the streets are straight and run parallel to each other. It has several public buildings such as the State House, Court House, a prison, an academy or college and a Catholic church, but no priest, though the congregation is quite large. Just recently the Catholics made another appeal for a

dernièrement les catholiques aient renouvelé leurs instances pour en avoir un, on n'a pu leur en donner le long de la côte on y voit grand nombre de catholiques. Le général Ogelthorpe, fondateur de la colonie, y bâtit un fort pour la garantir d'insulte contre les sauvages et protéger le commerce avec eux en faisant observer les traités qu'ils avoit contractés avec eux. En 1739 plus de 600 colons se séparèrent des autres pour s'avancer dans l'intérieur des terres pour faciliter leur commerce de pelletterie avec les sauvages. On y voit un beau pont qui traverse la rivière Savanah, large de 20 pieds et ayant 800 pieds de longueur. On ne compte que trois cent maisons ou environ. Le commerce en riz y est assez considérable relativement à sa population et il augmente visiblement tous les jours. La ville est placée dans une très belle plaine. On croit qu'elle a 2,000 habitans dont les trois quarts sont esclaves.

KENTUKEY

Voici les bornes de cet état. Au nord il y a l'état de l'Ohio et le territoire Indiana, au couchant la Louisiane, au sud le Tennessee, à l'est la Virginie. Le climat de ce pays est le plus tempéré et le plus agréable des États Unis. La terre vers l'ouest est montagneuse mais dans les autres parties de l'état elle est agréablement variée par des plaines, des vallées, des coteaux sujette néanmoins aux inondations des rivières qui l'arrosent. Sa fertilité est des plus grandes et elle produit abondamment du blé d'inde, du froment, du seigle, du tabac. Par le moyen de l'Ohio qui l'arrose vers le nord et du Mississippi à l'ouest les marchandises sont transportées par des vaisseaux à la Nouvelle Orléans et de là dans les pays étrangers.

priest but it was found impossible to provide one. There are quite a number of Catholics settled along the coast. General Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony, built a fort there to ward off the attacks of the Indians and to safeguard trade as set forth in treaties made with them. In 1739 more than 600 settlers separated from the others to locate further inland and thus facilitate trade with the Indians. A large bridge 800 feet long by 20 feet wide spans the river at Augusta. The city contains some 300 houses. The rice trade is quite extensive considering the population and it is gradually increasing. The city is finely situated on a level plain. It is estimated that it has 2,000 inhabitants of whom three-fourths are slaves.

KENTUCKY

The State of Kentucky is bounded as follows : to the north lie the State of Ohio and Indiana Territory, east is Louisiana, south are Tennessee and East Virginia. The climate of this section is the mildest and most delightful in the United States. The country towards the west is mountainous, but in the other parts of the state it is pleasantly diversified by plains, valleys and small hills ; it is, however, subject to inundations by the rivers which water it. It is remarkably fertile and produces abundant crops of indian corn, wheat, rye and tobacco. The Ohio waters it to the northward and this with the Mississippi affords facilities for the water carriage of merchandise to New Orleans and to foreign countries.

L'érable qui produit le sucre, le mûrier noir, le cerisier sauvage, le magnolier, le marronnier sont les principaux arbres particuliers à ce pays et les plus précieux pour le commerce.

La population de Kentukey est estimée au moins à 250 mille habitans dont 40 à 50 mille sont esclaves. Ils seroient encore en 1792 partie de l'état de la Virginie; on peut juger par là des progrès rapides avec lequel ce pays est peuplé. Un tel progrès dans si peu de tems n'a pas d'exemple dans le monde. Il s'y forma quelques établissemens en 1773 pour la première fois, et ce fut le colonel Daniel Boone qui fit le sien le 1er.

Nous ne parlerons pas des différens comtés de cet état qui sont au nombre de 42 ni des différentes villes de ces comtés à plus forte raison, quoiqu'il y ait partout grand nombre de catholiques, de congrégations et d'églises nouvellement bâties. M. Badin de Beardstown, dont nous allons parler, en a établi à lui seul une douzaine ; mais je ne connois ni leur position, ni leur étendue, ni leur nom. Nous nous bornerons à Beardstown et aux environs. Francfort et Lexington se disputent l'honneur de capitale du Kentuky.

BEARDSTOWN OU BEARDSTON

Cette ville est située sur la rivière Salée. On y compte 600 maisons et environ 5,000 habitans. Elle est dans un état très brillant pour le commerce qui accroit tous les jours et dans le comté Nelson. On compte 300 lieues de cette ville à celle de Washington, capitale des États Unis.

C'est à trois lieues de cette ville qu'il y a une grande congrégation de catholiques et une belle

Sugar maple, the black mulberry tree, the magnolia and the chestnut are the chief trees in these parts and the most valuable commercially. The population of Kentucky is estimated at 250,000 inhabitants of whom 40 or 50 thousand are slaves. In 1792, it was separated from Virginia; so, one can judge how rapidly the country became populated. This is without parallel in the world's history. Some settlements were established in 1773, Daniel Boone being the pioneer settler. We shall not discuss the forty-two different counties in the state, nor, of course, the various towns in these counties, though there are Catholics scattered in all directions, nor the missions and churches recently built. Mr. Badin, of Bardstown, of whom we are going to speak, erected a dozen of them by his own exertions, I do not know either their location or their designation ; but we shall confine our attention to Bardstown and its neighborhood. Both Frankfort and Lexington claim the distinction of being the capital of Kentucky.⁷⁸

BEARDSTOWN or BEARDSTON [BARDS- TOWN]

This town is situated on the Salt River, in Nelson County, and has some 600 houses and about 5,000 inhabitants. It is in a very flourishing condition commercially, and its trade is increasing every day. It is 300 leagues from this town to Washington, the capital of the United States. Three leagues from the town there is a large Catholic mission with a beautiful

église bâtie par M. Badin, un des premiers élèves de St-Sulpice à Baltimore, et premier pasteur. Il est aidé dans ses fonctions par M. Nerix, allemand assez récemment venu d'Europe. Ils travaillent avec le plus grand fruit et le plus grand zèle (non seulement) à cette congrégation, mais à un grand nombre d'autres et à toutes celles de Kentukey. M. Badin, lorsqu'il arriva dans le Kentukey pour y exercer les fonctions du ministère, y trouva deux prêtres. M. Jean Thayer en étoit un. Mais peu de tems après, M. Thayer fut envoyé par M. l'Évêque à New York sans être remplacé. L'autre prêtre vint à mourir et M. Badin se trouva seul alors chargé de tout le Kentukey qui est immense dans son étendue, et pendant plusieurs années il n'a cessé de parcourir ces différentes missions avec des fatigues incroyables et des fruits prodigieux. On peut le regarder comme l'apôtre du Kentukey, ayant fondé douze églises et des congrégations en plus grand nombre. Il continue ce même apostolat avec M. Nerix dont le zèle n'est pas moins ardent, ni moins heureux pour la conversion de plusieurs protestants américains. Les membres de ces congrégations retracent les vertus des premiers siècles par leur ferveur, la simplicité de leurs mœurs, l'éloignement du monde et ses plaisirs, la fréquentation des sacrements, et leur charité envers le prochain et les étrangers.

Il y a encore trois prêtres Dominicains venus d'Europe qui, dans le même lieu, ont établi un collège et exercent les fonctions du ministère, mais non pas avec le même fruit. Le peu de sévérité de leur morale dans la conduite des âmes est un grand sujet de peine pour MM. Badin et Nerix ; le démon en voudroit profiter pour détruire leur bel ouvrage, mais jusqu'à présent il n'a donné que des craintes.

Les religieux de la Trappe, conduits par le père Urbain, sont venus dans le Kentukey, il y a deux ans,

church built by Mr. Badin, one of the first students of St. Sulpice in Baltimore. He is the senior priest and is assisted in his pastorate by Mr. Nerinckx, a German [Belgian], recently arrived from Europe. They labor most zealously and with the happiest results, not only in this mission but in a great number of others throughout Kentucky.⁷⁹ When Mr. Badin arrived in Kentucky to begin his sacred ministry there, he found two priests, one of whom was Mr. John Thayer ; but shortly afterwards Mr. Thayer was sent to New York by the Bishop, and he was not replaced.⁸⁰ The other died, and Mr. Badin found himself alone burdened with the care of all Kentucky, which is immensely large, and for many years he never failed to travel through the different missions enduring incredible hardships, but with wonderful results. He is regarded as the Apostle of Kentucky, having founded twelve churches and numerous missions. He continued his apostolic labors, aided by Mr. Nerinckx whose zeal is not less ardent, nor less successful in the conversion of American Protestants.⁸¹ The people in these missions emulate the virtues of the early centuries by their fervor, their simple mode of living, their aversion to worldly pleasures, by the frequentation of the Sacraments and their charity towards their neighbors and towards strangers. There are, besides, three Dominican priests from Europe who have established a college in the same territory and who exercise the ministry, but not so profitably. Their mildness in the direction of souls is the cause of great uneasiness to Mr. Badin and Mr. Nerinckx. It would seem as if the Evil One were using them to destroy their glorious work ; but, so far, their fears have not been realized.⁸² Trappists, under the guidance of Father Urbain came to Kentucky to found an establishment. They had been sent to Canada in

pour y former un établissement. Ils avoient été envoyés dans le Canada dès le commencement de la Révolution française pour former un établissement conforme à l'esprit de leur ordre et de la nouvelle forme. Mais après un certain tems ils ont passé dans les États Unis, et sont venus à Baltimore consulter les MM. de St-Sulpice qui leur ont donné l'hospitalité au nombre de plus de trente personnes dans leur propre maison du séminaire et ils leur ont trouvé gratuitement ensuite une autre maison à 18 lieues de Baltimore plus convenable pour leur amour et pratique de la solitude, où ils avoient un jardin et un verger avec un parc considérable ou enclos. Ils y ont resté deux ans; mais attirés par de plus grandes espérances dans le Kentukey, ils y ont passé il y a deux ans. Protégés et soutenus par les catholiques du pays, et surtout par M. Badin leur digne pasteur, ils y sont encore mais sans établissement bien solide, n'ayant point encore à eux de fonds et de propriété de terres. On leur en a offert gratuitement ou à un prix très bas à plusieurs reprises, mais le P. Urbain n'a pas cru devoir accepter ces offres et profiter de ces occasions favorables; tantôt les terres offertes n'étoient pas d'une étendue assez grande; tantôt elles n'étoient pas assurées; tantôt elles n'avoient pas assez d'eau pour les moulins qu'il auroit voulu y établir. Ce sont les mêmes raisons qu'il m'a données à moi-même lorsque je lui ai fait charitablement des reproches sur sa négligence à profiter de si belles occasions.

L'année dernière (1806) il est arrivé trois Trappistes d'Europe envoyés par dom Augustin, le père général de la nouvelle réforme. L'un d'eux appelé le P. Joseph, avec lequel j'ai conversé sur ce sujet, m'a paru disposé à n'être pas si difficile, et depuis l'arrivée de ces derniers on a plus d'espérances pour un établissement solide. Outre ces trois prêtres et le P. Urbain dont

the early days of the French Revolution to found an institution there conformably to the recent reform of their Order, but after a brief sojourn there they crossed into the United States and came to confer with the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice, who extended hospitality to them (there were thirty persons all told). They received them into their house at the Seminary and later provided for them gratuitously, at some 18 leagues from Baltimore, a residence better suited to their requirement of a solitude, with a garden, an orchard, and a lake, park and enclosure. Here they remained two years ; but two years ago they were attracted to Kentucky as it promised a better field. Favored and aided by the Catholics of the locality and notably by Mr. Badin, their worthy pastor, they are still there but they have no permanent abode, as they have not secured any property or resources. Land has been offered to them gratuitously at a very low price several times, but Father Urban has not felt disposed to accept these offers or to seize these favorable opportunities, the excuse being either that the properties offered were not extensive enough or that they could not be guaranteed to them, or that they had not a water supply to operate the mills which he wished to establish — the same excuse as he alleged when I chided him very charitably for having neglected to improve such excellent chances. Last year three Trappists arrived from Europe, sent out by Dom Augustin, the Father-General of the Reformed Order. One of them, named Father Joseph, with whom I discussed the matter, seemed to me less fastidious ; and since they arrived the prospects of a solid foundation seem brighter. Besides Father Joseph, the three priests of whom we have spoken above, and Father Urbain, they have Mr. Flint (a former Benedictine of St. Maur, missionary in the United States) and Mr. Langlois (a former Canadian priest and hospital chap-

nous avons parlé, ils ont M. Flint, ancien missionnaire dans les États Unis, un ancien bénédictin de la Congrégation de St-Maur. M. Langlois, ancien prêtre du Canada et aumônier des religieuses de l'hôpital que je connois et que j'ai vu partir pour la Trappe. Les autres sont frères ou novices ou élèves au nombre de trente. Voilà ce que j'avois à dire sur l'établissement des Trappistes dans le Kentukey.

L'OHIO

L'Ohio a pour bornes le territoire Michigan au nord, la Pensylvanie et la Virginie à l'est, le Kentukey au sud, et l'Indiana territory à l'ouest. Cet état est tout nouveau et par conséquent peu peuplé à raison de son étendue, mais très fertile. C'est en 1803 qu'il a été érigé en état. Autrefois il faisoit partie du territoire du nord ouest de l'Ohio. On n'y compte pas plus de 50,000 habitants.

Chilicothe, Marietta et Cincinnati se disputent le titre de capitale parce que, tour à tour, elles sont le siège du gouvernement et de la législature.

Gallipolis, qui seule nous intéresse dans cet état, est une ville toute composée de français et située sur le Scioto. On sut très bien en France qu'un très grand nombre de familles passèrent en Amérique pour faire des établissements sur le Scioto. On leur avoit fait la plus belle description de ce pays. M. d'Esprémesnil encouragea cet établissement et il auroit très bien réussi s'il avoit été bien conduit, soit pour l'achat, distribution, cultivation des terres, soit pour le plan de la ville et l'emploi des ouvriers qui composoient ces nombreuses familles. Mais on ne s'assura pas avant de partir de Paris du lieu qu'on se proposoit faire cet établissement. Le chef de l'entreprise, qui étoit

lain with whom I am acquainted and whom I saw leave to enter the Trappist community. The others are brothers, novices, or students, thirty in all. This is all I have to say regarding the Trappist foundation in Kentucky.⁸³

OHIO

Ohio is bounded on the north by Michigan territory, on the east by Pennsylvania and Virginia, south by Kentucky, and west by Indiana Territory. This State is of recent erection and consequently sparsely populated on account of its extent ; but is very fertile. It was erected into a State in 1803. It was formerly part of the North West Territory of Ohio. It has a population of less than 50,000 people. Chillicothe, Marietta and Cincinnati all claim the distinction of being the capital as each in turn has been the seat of government and legislature.

Gallipolis — the only section in which we are interested in this State — is an entirely French town and is situated on the Scioto. It was well known in France that a large number of families had gone to America to establish settlements on the Scioto. The most glowing description of the country had been given to them. Mr. d'Esprémesnil encouraged this settlement and would probably have been successful if he had been properly directed regarding the purchase, distribution, and cultivation of the lands or the employment of workmen who constituted these several families. But nobody knew before leaving Paris just where the settlement was to be made. The head of the enterprise who was a French seigneur, had made no definite arrangements regarding it, and upon arrival he was perforce obliged to be content with a poor tract of land of limited area.

un seigneur français, n'avoit pas pris là dessus aucun arrangement déterminé. Il fallut en arrivant se contenter d'un terrain assez mauvais et d'une petite étendue. Le défaut de connoissance du pays fit que plusieurs crurent d'abord qu'en si peu de terrain comme ils en avoient en France ils pouvoient vivre à leur aise et dans l'abondance. Mais leurs espérances furent bien trompées. Le chef de l'entreprise se retira et les laissa abandonnés à eux-mêmes. Les choses allèrent de mal en pis. La division se mit parmi eux. Les besoins se firent sentir, même les plus urgents. Des personnes accoutumées à des arts mécaniques comme orfèvres, cordonniers, tailleurs, menuisiers, cuisiniers ne savoient point cultiver la terre, ne pouvoient s'accoutumer à ce genre de travail, et ne pouvoient néanmoins vivre autrement. Il fallut aller chercher fortune ailleurs et on les vit en grand nombre émigrer en d'autres lieux où ils ne furent pas plus heureux.

Les américains étant venus s'établir fournirent une autre cause de découragement. Ils les virent réussir et cela leur donna de la jalousie sans pouvoir exciter leur émulation. Ils les virent avec peine occuper toutes les places et emplois de juge, d'avocat, de commis. Leur caractère ne sympatisoit pas avec le leur, leur langue si difficile à entendre et à acquérir — tout cela les engagea à la séparation.

Dom Didier, ancien procureur bénédictin de l'abbaye de St-Denis en France, étoit venu avec eux. Plein de talens en tout genre, il méritoit leur confiance, et ils auroient dû la lui donner pour le spirituel et même le temporel en ayant recours à ses conseils ; mais sa qualité de religieux et d'autres préventions contre lui lui rendirent son ministère très désagréable. Après l'y avoir exercé plusieurs années sans un grand fruit, il passa à St-Louis où il fut bien reçu et très estimé jusqu'à sa mort qui est arrivée il y a quatre ou cinq ans. N'ayant

Lack of knowledge concerning the conditions of the country led many to believe that they could live easily and luxuriously on a plot of land such as they had in France ; but they were sadly disappointed. The moving spirit of the enterprise retired and left them to their own resources. Things went from bad to worse, and they lacked even the necessities of life. People accustomed to earn a livelihood as craftsmen, such as silversmiths, shoemakers, tailors, joiners, and cooks knew nothing about farming, could not adapt themselves to this sort of work, and could not get a living otherwise. They were obliged to go elsewhere to seek the means of existence, and they located in places where they were equally unfortunate. The advent of the Americans into the settlement caused further discouragement. The French saw these succeed, and this aroused their jealousy without spurring them to emulation. They saw them occupying positions such as judges, lawyers, clerks. Temperamentally they differed from them, and their language was difficult to understand and to learn. Everything tended to accentuate the cleavage.

Dom Didier, a Benedictine, formerly procurator of the Abbey of St. Denis in France, had accompanied them. He was a very distinguished man and he deserved their support, and they should have abided by his counsels both as regards things spiritual as well as worldly concerns ; but as he was a religious and otherwise unpopular, his ministry was fruitless. After having labored there several years without any result, he went to St. Louis where he was kindly received and lived there highly esteemed till the time of his death four or five years ago. Having no longer a shepherd or leader of any sort the settlement declined and ere long Gallipolis was but a memory. Religion especially had suffered greatly. Children were no longer baptized,

plus de pasteur et de guide d'aucune sorte, l'établissement tomba en ruine et dans peu de tems Gallipolis n'étoit plus reconnoissable. La religion surtout y perdit beaucoup. On s'accoutuma à ne plus baptiser les enfans, à se marier sans prêtres et à ne pas en demander à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore. Bien plus, le culte insensé de la raison et le culte théo-philanthropique s'y introduisirent. Tous les dimanches, au lieu de prières et d'instructions chrétiennes et catholiques, on s'assembloit, et on s'assemble encore, pour recevoir des leçons d'incrédulité, de déisme et autres semblables. Les enfans n'eurent plus d'idées ni françaises ni américaines. Au moment où j'ai quitté l'Amérique, j'ai vu arriver au Détroit des familles françoises de Gallipolis qui m'ont dit qu'ils n'en comptoient pas vingt maintenant dans cette ville, et qu'elle étoit devenue une ville américaine par le nombre d'américains qui l'habitent et y tiennent en tout le premier rang.

Nous avons maintenant à décrire les États Unis formés des établissemens français, sçavoir le territoire Michigan, territoire Indiana, territoire de la Haute Louisiane, le territoire de la Nouvelle Orléans et le territoire du Mississippi.

LE TERRITOIRE MICHIGAN

Le territoire Michigan est une péninsule qui a à l'est la rivière Détroit, le lac Ste-Claire, le lac Huron; au nord le détroit de Michilimackinack; à l'ouest le lac Michigan; au sud, le territoire Indiana et le territoire de l'Ohio. Ce pays est très uni, sans montagnes, très fertile et très sain, quoique très froid en hiver. Il est habité presque uniquement par des français qu'on peut seulement faire monter à six mille. C'est en 1804 qu'il a été érigé en territoire à la demande des habitans. Ils étoient alors dans le comté de Wayne, formant une

marriages were contracted without the presence of a priest, and the people no longer looked for one from the Bishop. Furthermore, rationalism and humanitarianism were introduced there. On Sundays, instead of assisting at prayers and Christian and Catholic instructions, the people attended gatherings, and still attend them to be taught in infidelity, deism and other such abominations. The children grew up without being either French or Americans. At the time I left America I saw French families from Gallipolis arriving at Detroit. They told me that less than twenty were now to be found there, and that the town had become entirely American owing to the influx of Americans there who occupy first place in everything.⁸⁴

We must now describe the States in the Union carved out of the French settlements, namely, Michigan Territory, Indiana Territory, the Territory of Upper Louisiana, the Territory of New Orleans and Mississippi Territory.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY

Michigan Territory is a peninsula bounded on the east by the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair and Lake Huron ; north by the Strait of Michilimackinac ; west by lake Michigan ; south, by Indiana Territory and Ohio Territory. This country is quite level and has no mountains, very fertile and quite healthy, though extremely cold in winter. It is inhabited almost exclusively by French people who number about 6,000. It was organized as a Territory in 1804 as a result of a petition from the inhabitants, who at the time were located in Wayne County which formed part of the Territory of Indiana. In 1798 when I arrived in this

partie du territoire de l'Indiana. En 1798, l'année de mon arrivée dans le pays, le comté de Wayne, dont Détroit étoit le chef-lieu, faisoit partie du territoire du nord ouest de l'Ohio. Deux ans après, ce territoire ayant passé au second degré, il y eut une Législature à Cincinnati, capitale de cet état naissant, et le comté de Wayne y envoya des députés comme les autres comtés. Après deux ans de législature, le territoire Indiana fut détaché de celui du nord ouest et celui-ci passa au troisième degré qui forme l'état complet et parfait. Alors le Détroit se trouva dans le comté de Wayne attaché à l'Indiana territoire, ce qui choqua extrêmement ses habitans, car le chef-lieu de ce territoire étoit le Poste Vincennes où il falloit nécessairement se rendre en cas d'appel à la Cour Suprême, démarche d'autant plus pénible que le Poste Vincennes est un fort petit lieu eu égard au Détroit. Ses habitans demandèrent donc instamment au congrès qu'on les constituât territoire de premier degré et indépendant de tout autre, ce qui leur fut accordé en 1804, et on donna à ce nouveau territoire le nom de Michigan à cause du lac Michigan qui le borne à l'ouest du sud au nord.

Mais au moment que les habitans du Détroit venoient d'apprendre cette heureuse nouvelle, la ville de Détroit fut entièrement incendiée, ce qui arriva le 11 juin. C'étoit vers le milieu du jubilé où la ville étoit pleine de monde venant des extrémités des établissemens pour se rendre digne de le gagner en assistant assidûment aux instructions, à la sainte messe et aux autres exercices et s'approchant surtout du sacrement de pénitence. J'étois dans le moment que commença l'incendie occupé avec M. Richard, lorsque j'eus interrompu par une personne qui vint m'avertir qu'il y avoit déjà trois maisons de brûlées et qu'on n'espéroit pas sauver les autres. J'exhortai tous les fidèles qui étoient présents à se soutenir les uns les autres et j'allai dire la messe avec un seul

part of the country, Wayne County, of which Detroit was the most important settlement, was part of the North-West Territory of Ohio. Two years later this Territory having passed into a second phase of existence, a legislative assembly was established at Cincinnati, the capital of this growing state, and Wayne County sent representatives to it. After two years of this form of government, Indiana Territory was detached from the North-West Territory, and the latter assumed the dignity of perfect statehood. The result was that Detroit remained in Wayne County attached to Indiana Territory. This was galling to the people (of Detroit) as the most important place in the Territory was Post Vincennes^{ss} to which it was necessary to have recourse in the event of an appeal to the Supreme Court — a rather humiliating procedure—as Post Vincennes was quite an insignificant place compared with Detroit. The people then made insistent appeals to Congress that they be erected into a Territory of the first rank and independent of any other. This was granted to them in 1804, and the new territory was named Michigan, since Lake Michigan forms its entire boundary from north to south.

But just as the people of Detroit received this gratifying news, the town of Detroit was entirely destroyed by a fire which broke out on June 11. The celebration of the jubilee was about over, and the town was filled with people who had gathered from the distant settlements to participate in this great event in a fitting manner by assisting regularly at the instructions, at Holy Mass and the other exercises, and by approaching the Sacrament of Penance. The fire began whilst I was engaged with Mr. Richard. I was interrupted by a person who came to inform me that three houses had already been burned and that there was little hope of saving the others. I exhorted all

clerc assistant. La messe étant dite (messe basse) on n'eût que le tems de sauver les meubles et ornements de l'église, les meubles et provisions du presbytère qui tenoit à l'église. Bientôt les flammes se propageant avec rapidité embrassèrent l'un et l'autre quoiqu'ils fussent à l'extrémité de la ville. Dans trois heures, c'est-à-dire depuis neuf heures jusqu'à midi, la ville fut consumée par les flammes et l'on ne vit plus qu'un tas de charbons ardents et des cheminées qui paroissaient s'élever comme des pyramides. Dans le tems de l'incendie il n'y avoit pas de vent. Les flammes et la fumée s'élevoient à une hauteur prodigieuse, et toute la ville ne formoit qu'un seul bûcher. C'étoit le plus majestueux et en même temps le plus horrible spectacle que j'aie jamais vu. La ville renfermoit au moins 150 maisons, la plupart de bois, ce qui rendit l'embrasement si rapide et impossible à arrêter. Les marchands furent ceux qui se sentirent davantage et éprouvèrent plus le dommage de cet incendie. Comme la plupart des maisons étoient autant de magasins, on se pressa d'enlever les marchandises et de les transporter ailleurs. La ville étant remplie d'une grande affluence de monde et tous s'empressant de porter du secours pour sauver les meubles et les marchandises sur voitures, on réussit à les sauver la plupart de l'incendie. Celui-ci ayant eu lieu en plein jour, il n'y eût personne de brûlé ou de blessé.

Le nouveau gouverneur William Hull arriva au Détroit deux ou trois jours après ce malheureux événement. Dans son discours d'entrée, qui se fit dans un verger où l'on avoit dressé un autel, M. le gouverneur parla au peuple assemblé avec de grands sentiments de compassion pour le malheur qu'ils venoient d'éprouver et leur donna pour l'avenir les espérances les plus consolantes. Deux ou trois jours après, devant le même

those present to help one another and I went to say Mass with only one server. It was a low Mass and when it was over we had hardly time to save the church furniture, the vestments, the household effects and provisions in the presbytery which adjoined the church. The flames spread with great rapidity and soon enveloped both though they were located on the outskirts of the town. In three hours (from nine o'clock to noon) the town was burned to the ground and nothing could be seen but piles of live embers and chimneys which seemed to rise like pyramids. At the time of the fire there was no wind, the flames and smoke rose to a prodigious height, and the entire town looked like a huge bonfire. It was the most wonderful and at the same time the most horrible sight I have ever witnessed. The town contained at least 150 houses, the greater part of them wooden, and this caused such confusion that it was impossible to stay the destruction. The merchants suffered the greatest losses by the fire. As most of the houses were so many shops, people struggled frantically to save their wares and transport them elsewhere. The town was full of people and everybody lent a helping hand to save the furniture and the goods by means of wagons. Most of these were saved. The fire occurred in broad daylight, and nobody was burned or injured.

The new governor, William Hull, arrived at Detroit two or three days after this disastrous occurrence. In his inaugural address, delivered in an orchard where an altar had been erected, the governor spoke most sympathetically to the people of the loss which they had sustained, and inspired them with comforting hopes for the future. Two or three days later before the same altar he administered the oath to the deputy-governor, or secretary, to the chief justice and other officials. The chief justice, Mr. Woodward, being a Catholic,

autel, il fit prêter serment au vice-gouverneur ou secrétaire, au grand juge et autres officiers. Le grand juge nommé Woodward étant catholique m'avoit demandé la permission, et M. le gouverneur qui respecte la religion catholique fut bien aise que les autres fissent de même. A cette occasion il fit un autre discours où il exposa les principes du gouvernement actuel et les règles sages d'après lesquelles ils se proposoit de gouverner le territoire. Comme la plupart des auditeurs ne savoit pas suffisamment l'anglois, je leur répétois ce même discours en français et il fut reçu avec un applaudissement universel envers le gouverneur. Il exécuta fidèlement tout ce qu'il avoit promis à ce bon peuple. Il travailla à l'instant à former un nouveau plan d'une nouvelle ville. Ce plan a été dressé par le juge Woodward et c'est là le plan de la ville de Washington aggrandi et perfectionné. Les lots furent bientôt distribués et chacun se mit à rebâtir avec le plus vif empressement. Dans trois ou quatre semaines je vis vingt maisons s'élever dans cette nouvelle ville et cela a continué depuis. M. le gouverneur a bâti sur le bord du terrain un superbe bâtiment pour être à perpétuité le logement du gouverneur du territoire.

Les habitans du Détroit accablés d'infortunes se voyoient à la veille d'être privés de leurs terres qu'ils avoient acquises des sauvages et que le gouvernement américain réclamoit. Ils avoient envoyé depuis peu à grands frais un député au congrès pour en obtenir la concession de ces terres qu'ils avoient possédées en bonne foi et payées aux sauvages. Ils avoient obtenu quelque adoucissement à la rigueur de la loi incapable de les consoler et de prévenir leur ruine. Ils pensoient à abandonner le pays et à passer chez les anglois, lorsque M. le gouverneur leur promit d'obtenir du congrès ce qu'ils demandoient et qui leur paroissoit si juste. Il a été au congrès et a obtenu non seulement la possession

had asked my permission, and the governor who had great respect for the Catholic religion was pleased that the others do likewise. On this occasion he made another address in which he discussed the principles of the present government and outlined the regulations he had drawn up for the government of the Territory. As most of those present did not understand English very well, I repeated his speech in French and it was received with great applause for the governor. He faithfully carried out what he promised these good people. He set to work immediately to shape plans for a new town. This plan was drawn up by Judge Woodward on the lines of the City of Washington, enlarged and improved. Lots were soon parceled out and everybody started to build most industriously. Within three or four weeks I saw twenty houses in course of erection in this new town, and building has gone on continuously ever since. The governor built on the outskirts of the city a splendid structure which will serve as the permanent residence of the governor of the Territory.

Overwhelmed with misfortunes the people of Detroit were on the eve of being despoiled of the lands they had acquired from the Indians, for they were being claimed by the American Government. Recently, at a considerable expense, they had sent a deputation to Congress to obtain a grant of these lands which they had held in good faith as they had purchased them from the Indians. They had obtained some redress from the exactions of the law ; but it was not calculated to afford them any consolation or prevent their ruin. They thought of abandoning the locality and of settling in the English territory, when the governor promised to obtain from Congress what they regarded as a just settlement of their case. He went to Congress and secured not only the peaceful possession of their lands, but also the authority to dispose of a number of other

tranquille des terres mais aussi le droit de disposer d'un grand nombre d'autres qui ne sont pas cultivées et qui appartiennent au gouvernement américain par le traité de Grandville avec les sauvages, en 1795. Il a fait plus. Il a offert à M. Richard et à moi un fond de terre suffisant pour bâtir une église sur la plus belle place de la nouvelle ville et un autre fond de terre pour bâtir un collège, payer des professeurs, fournir à l'entretien du supérieur et des administrateurs qui seroient Sulpiciens. Il nous promit de demander l'autorisation au congrès et il l'a obtenu. Il nous engagea à nous charger de cette entreprise. Nous n'avons pu lui donner de réponse positive, mais nos supérieurs n'ont pas jugé à propos de s'en charger par défaut de sujets. Sur notre refus on fit les mêmes offres à des presbytériens, méthodistes et autres semblables qui acceptèrent avec plaisir et introduisirent leur fausse doctrine dans un pays tout catholique. Quelle idée affligeante pour l'avenir !

Le Détroit Ste-Claire, au moment de la cession du Canada aux anglois, formoit depuis long tems, c'est à dire 40 ans auparavant, une paroisse considérable. Cependant, après avoir consulté les anciens registres, j'en'ai pu trouver des élections de marguilliers que de l'an 1744, le père Bonaventure étant pasteur du Détroit. La tradition néanmoins rapporte que d'autres P. Récollets l'avoient précédé dans le ministère pastoral. Ce n'étoit même dans ce tems là qu'une mission. Il n'y avoit qu'une petite église à la place de laquelle en 1744 on commença la construction d'une nouvelle beaucoup plus grande — celle-là même qui a été incendiée. En 1765 le père Simple Bocquet succéda au père Bonaventure et gouverna cette paroisse avec beaucoup de zèle et de sagesse et empêcha les abus de s'introduire, comme les droits honorifiques du banc, de l'encens et de l'eau bénite pour les officiers du roi qui les réclamoient.

uncultivated tracts belonging to the American government, by the treaty of Greenville. He did more : he offered to Mr. Richard and myself a plot of land large enough to build a church on in the finest section of the new town and another lot for a college, to pay the professors, provide for the maintenance of the superior and the staff, who were to be Sulpicians. He promised to ask the authorization of Congress (for this purpose) and secured it. He asked us to take care of this enterprise. We could not give him a definite answer ; and our superiors did not deem it advisable to assume the charge owing to scarcity of priests. Upon our refusal a similar offer was made to the Presbyterians, the Methodists and others, who gladly accepted it and introduced their false teaching into a Catholic section. What a sad outlook for the future!⁸⁸

St. Clair Strait (Detroit) had been an important mission for more than 40 years previous to the cession of Canada to England ; but after consulting the old registers I could find a record of an election of churchwardens only from the year 1744 whilst Father Bonaventure was parish priest of Detroit.⁸⁷ Tradition, however, says that other Recollects had preceded him in pastoral work at Detroit which even then was only a mission. There was only a small church which was replaced in 1744 by the erection of the new one — the very church which was burnt recently. In 1765 Father Simplicius Bocquet succeeded Father Bonaventure and administered this parish with great zeal and wisdom, prevented the introduction of honorary rights to pews, the giving of incense and holy water to the King's officers who claimed it as a right. He engaged a chanter who was to be paid by the fabric, a school for the instruction of the children ; he purchased a large bell, a silver-gilt monstrance ; he suppressed such scandals as unlawful marriages, the supplying of liquors to the Indians, the keeping

Il établit un chancre payé par la fabrique, une école pour l'instruction des enfants, acheta une grosse cloche, un ostensor de vermeil, arracha de grands scandales comme les mariages illégitimes, des marchands de fortes liqueurs enivrant les sauvages, des concubinaires, des marguilliers séditeux révoltés contre toute autorité. Il vint à bout de retrancher ces abus, ces scandales par sa fermeté, sa prudence et sa patience inaltérable. Aussi sa mémoire est-elle encore en bénédiction au Détroit où tous ceux qui l'avoient vu même dans sa vieillesse et lorsque son esprit avoit perdu de sa force, ne cessèrent de publier ses vertus et l'estime que toute la paroisse avoit de lui et de ses bonnes qualités.

M. Payet succéda au Père Bocquet et le remplaça dignement. Il augmenta les revenus de la fabrique, gouverna avec zèle et avec douceur et ne quitta la paroisse que parcequ'il fut appelé par son évêque pour être auprès de lui. Il étoit secrétaire de M. Denaux, évêque de Québec, et l'accompagnoit dans sa visite épiscopale. C'étoit son homme de confiance et il le méritoit bien. Je l'ai connu et je n'ai pu qu'admirer sa modestie, sa simplicité évangélique et ses autres vertus. Il est mort en 1801.

M. Fréchette remplaça M. Payet. Il obligea tous les paroissiens à donner le pain bénit les dimanches chacun à son tour. Certains particuliers avoient cru pouvoir s'en exempter. Il exigea qu'il fut présenté par le chef de famille ou quelqu'un des parens, jamais par des domestiques. Les marguilliers entrant en charge furent obligés de faire une promesse solennelle de s'acquitter fidèlement de leur charge. Ceux qui avoient été élus étoient obligés d'accepter.

M. Hubert paroît avoir exercé le ministère en même tems que M. Fréchette, et il étoit même le premier pasteur de l'un et de l'autre bord ; car dans ce tems-là la

of mistresses, and ousted the churchwardens who antagonized him. He suppressed these abuses by his firmness, his prudence and his imperturbable patience. His memory is still held in benediction at Detroit where all who saw him, even in his declining years when his mind has lost its vigor, never failed to proclaim his virtues and the esteem which the entire parish entertained for him and his sterling qualities.

Mr. Payet succeeded Father Bocquet and replaced him in a very worthy manner. He augmented the revenues of the fabric, ruled the parish zealously and quietly and he left only because he had been called by his bishop to be near him. He was secretary to Bishop Denaut, of Québec, and accompanied him during his episcopal visitations, and was worthy of the trust reposed in him. I knew him and I could not but admire his modesty, his evangelical simplicity and his other virtues. He died in 1801.

Mr. Frechette succeeded Mr. Payet. He obliged all the parishioners to give the blessed bread on Sunday, each in his turn. Certain individuals considered themselves exempted from this. He insisted that it be offered by the head of the family or some relative and never by servants. The churchwardens on taking office were obliged to make a solemn promise to acquit themselves faithfully of their charge. Those elected were bound to accept the office.

Mr. Hubert appears to have exercised the ministry at the same time as Mr. Frechette and was the senior pastor of both sides of the Strait, as at that time the parish was divided into two sections by the Detroit River; but as the church on the left bank was new and as it was necessary to build a church Mr. Hubert reserved himself the special care of this new parish. He was also Vicar-General (of the Bishop of Quebec) and we find that he preside at parish meetings in this capacity.

paroisse étoit divisée en deux par la rivière du Détroit. Mais comme celle du côté gauche étoit nouvelle et qu'il falloit bâtir une église, M. Hubert s'étoit réservé le soin spécial de cette nouvelle paroisse. Il étoit aussi vicaire-général et on le voit présider aux assemblées paroissiales en cette qualité en même tems comme pasteur. M. Hubert fut ensuite élevé à l'épiscopat où il se conduisit de la manière la plus édifiante. Ne pouvant y faire tout le bien qu'il désiroit, obligé par le gouvernement anglois pour empêcher la ruine de la religion catholique de retrancher un grand nombre de fêtes, il renonça à l'épiscopat et mourut paisiblement dans la solitude.

Lorsque les Américains obtinrent, en vertu du traité fait avec l'Angleterre pour l'Indépendance, d'entrer en possession du Détroit, et que les anglois en conséquence l'eurent évacué, M. l'Évêque de Québec en retira M. Fréchette qui fut remplacé par M. Levadoux. Il avoit été envoyé au Détroit par M. l'Évêque de Baltimore et pour cela il avoit quitté l'Illinois où il étoit auparavant. Il avoit la qualité de grand vicaire. MM. Richard et Dilhet, nouvellement arrivés de France, furent également envoyés au Détroit deux ans après en 1798, pour seconder M. Levadoux dans le ministère soit pour le Détroit, soit pour les autres établissements acquis aux États Unis par cette dernière cession. M. Levadoux, en 1797, fit adopter aux paroissiens les anciens réglemens de Mgr l'Évêque de Québec pour le gouvernement de la paroisse; en 1798 il obtint une place pour le cimetière du Colonel Strong, commandant du fort. Le presbytère fut réparé. On pensa d'abord à bâtir une nouvelle église, mais ensuite on se borna à réparer l'ancienne. Il régla le payement des dîmes et fit plusieurs autres réglemens convenables. En 1801 il fut rappelé à Baltimore par M. Nagot, supérieur du Séminaire de St-Sulpice et supérieur du Séminaire et ensuite

whilst pastor. Mr. Hubert was afterwards raised to the episcopate where he discharged his duties in the most edifying manner. Unable to accomplish all the good that he desired (he was forced by the English government to retrench a great number of holidays) and rather than do anything detrimental to the cause of the Catholic religion he resigned the episcopate and ended his days peacefully in solitude.⁸⁸

When the Americans, by the treaty made with England after the War of Independence, obtained possession of Detroit, and after its evacuation by the English, the Bishop of Quebec having recalled Mr. Frechette, the latter was replaced by Mr. Levadoux. He had been recalled from the Illinois country where he had formerly labored and was sent by Bishop Carroll to Detroit. He had the rank of Vicar-General. Mr. Richard and Mr. Dilhet recently arrived from France, were likewise sent to Detroit two years later to assist Mr. Levadoux either at Detroit or in the settlements acquired by the United States by the recent cession. In 1797 Mr. Levadoux had his parishoners adopt the former Regulations of the Bishop of Quebec for the management of the parish. In 1798 he secured from Colonel Strong, commandant of the garrison, a site for a cemetery. The erection of a new church was mooted, but later it was decided to repair the old one. He regulated the payment of tithes and made other suitable regulations. In 1801 he was recalled to Baltimore by Mr. Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and later to France, by Mr. Emery, Superior-General of St. Sulpice, in Paris. Later, he was named Superior of St. Sulpice at St. Flour where he still is in this capacity.⁸⁹

Mr. Dilhet was requested to take Mr. Levadoux's place, but he decided to refuse the invitation and remain at Raisin River, 20 leagues from Detroit, where

en France par M. Emery, Supérieur-Général du Séminaire de St-Sulpice de Paris. Il fut ensuite nommé supérieur de St-Sulpice de St-Flour où il est encore en cette qualité.

M. Dilhet fut invité à remplacer M. Levadoux, mais il jugea à propos de refuser et de rester à la rivière aux Raisins à 20 lieues du Détroit, où il étoit depuis long tems. M. Richard fut donc le successeur de M. Levadoux, et il est encore pasteur du Détroit. Il convertit le paiement de la dîme en souscription et abonnement de six cent gourdes, détermina la réparation de l'église et l'exécuta ; cette réparation coûta douze mille cinq cent livres. Il établit un chancre avec augmentation de gages à condition qu'il enseigneroit les cérémonies aux enfans de chœur. En 1804, M. Dilhet vint au Détroit pour aider M. Richard dans ses fonctions, faire des missions dans les établissemens trop éloignés de l'église et établir un collège ou école cléricale. On construisit des chambres dans le presbytère à cette intention et au commencement du mois d'octobre M. Dilhet commença son école cléricale, alors composée de neuf élèves qui dans quelque tems après furent réduits à cinq. Il leur enseignoit le latin, la géographie, l'histoire de la religion, le chant ecclésiastique et la pratique de l'oraison. Il a continué cette école jusqu'au moment de son départ pour la France et la laissa alors entre les mains de M. Richard.

Mr. Dilhet et M. Richard étant rappelés en France par M. Eméry, M. Dilhet consentoit avec l'agrément de M. Nagot de rester au Détroit seul jusqu'à ce qu'il fût remplacé par un autre prêtre, à condition que les paroissiens se soumettroient aux anciennes règles de la paroisse comme par le passé. Il y avoit longtems que les marguilliers avoient refusé cette soumission, et s'étoient montrés rebelles et factieux. M. Dilhet crut qu'il n'étoit pas prudent d'accepter la charge de la

he had been enlocated for some time. Mr. Richard then became the successor to Mr. Levadoux, and he is still parish priest of Detroit. He commuted the payment of tithes into a subscription and a levy of six hundred piasters and carried out repairs to the church, which cost twelve thousand five hundred pounds. He engaged a chanter with an augmented salary on condition that he should teach ceremonies to the altar boys. In 1804 Mr. Dilhet came to Detroit to assist Mr. Richard in his parish work, to give missions in settlements at a distance from the church, and establish a college or clergy school. Rooms were fitted up in the presbytery for this purpose and at the beginning of October, Mr. Dilhet opened his school with nine pupils; the number was later reduced to five. He taught them Latin, geography, church history, sacred music and the practice of mental prayer. He kept up this school till the time of his departure for France and then left it in the hands of Mr. Richard.

Mr. Dilhet and Mr. Richard being recalled to France by Mr. Emery, Mr. Dilhet consented with the approval of Mr. Nagot to remain in Detroit until he could be replaced by another priest, provided that the parishioners would submit to the old regulations as formerly, for the churchwardens had long refused to submit to these and were refractory and troublesome. Mr. Dilhet thought that it would be imprudent to take charge of the parish until this preliminary condition had been agreed upon. The churchwardens persistently refused and even brought an action against Mr. Richard which delayed him in Detroit for at least a year. Mr. Dilhet then felt himself obliged to withdraw the offer he had made and at the earliest possible date acquiesced in the pressing demand of Mr. Emery, his Superior, to return to France. This he did, and left Detroit on September 1805. His departure caused great regret in the parish,

paroisse que cette condition ne fut adoptée. Les marguilliers; refusèrent constamment et intentèrent même un procès à M. Richard pour lequel il étoit retenu au Détroit au moins pendant un an. M. Dilhet a cru alors devoir retirer ses offres et se rendre au plus tôt aux invitations pressantes de M. Éméry, son supérieur, pour retourner en France : ce qu'il a fait et exécuté, étant parti du Détroit le 14 septembre, 1805. Son départ a causé la plus grande désolation dans la paroisse qu'il faut bien distinguer d'une partie puissante de ses marguilliers. M. Richard lui a écrit que la sensation qu'avoit occasionné son départ étoit encore très vive et inexprimable au bout de 15 mois.

Cette paroisse a pour limites, au sud, la rivière aux écorces et au nord le lac Huron, c'est à dire, près de trente lieues ; à l'est, elle est séparée par la rivière du Détroit du bord anglois et de la paroisse angloise, composée néanmoins de françois catholiques; à l'ouest, il n'y a que des sauvages ou plutôt des déserts sans habitations quelconques ; elle renferme environ trois mille paroissiens, et comprend plusieurs établissemens, au nord celui du haut et du bas de la rivière St-Clair, celui de la rivière aux Hurons au lac St-Clair, celui de la pointe Guignolet et de l'anse Creuse plus au nord, et de la Grosse Pointe au Lac St-Clair, celui de la côte nord de la rivière du Détroit, celui de la côte sud de la même rivière, celui de la Rivière Rouge, et celui de la Rivière aux Écorces.

LA RIVIÈRE AUX RAISINS

La Rivière aux Raisins, depuis l'établissement du territoire Michigan, est un comté. Il y a une cour de quatre sessions et on se propose d'y bâtir une ville. Il renferme environ mille âmes, presque tous françois et catholiques romains. Ils viennent la plupart du Détroit

for it must be understood that there was a party loyal to the priest besides the powerful faction represented by the churchwardens. Mr. Richard wrote to him stating that the sensation caused by his departure was still vivid and intense for fifteen months afterwards. This parish (Detroit) has as its boundaries : on the south, the River Ecorce, and on the north, Lake Huron, this means nearly a distance of thirty leagues ; on the east, it is separated by the Detroit River from the English possessions and the English parish (largely made up of French Catholics, however) ; on the west you find nothing but Indians or rather an inhabited wilderness. It contains about three thousand parishioners, inclusive of several settlements to the north — the lower section of the St. Clair River, Huron River at Lake St. Clair, Point Guignolet and Anse Creuse further north, and Grosse Point at Lake St. Clair, the north bank of the Detroit River, the south bank of the same, River Rouge, and River Ecorce.

RAISIN RIVER

Raisin River, since the erection of Michigan into a territory is a county. It has a Court of Quarter Sessions, and the building of a town is in contemplation. It contains about three thousand souls, all French and Roman Catholic. Most of these came from Detroit and belong to several Detroit families. Others came from Montreal. Formerly they were engaged in trading to the north, but after some years they came and settled at Raisin River, purchasing property and marrying in the parish. The first settler in this part of

et appartiennent à plusieurs familles du Détroit. Plusieurs autres viennent de Montréal ; ils étoient engagés auparavant dans le commerce du nord, et après un certain nombre d'années ils sont venus s'établir à la Rivière aux Raisins, achetant des terres et se mariant dans cette paroisse. Le premier qui s'établit dans ce pays est un M. Navarre. Il appartient à une des plus considérables familles du Détroit. Il a bientôt engagé ses frères à s'établir auprès de lui ; ce fut en 1778. Le progrès de cet établissement fut très rapide, et en 1796 M. Levadoux alla les visiter, on y comptoit cent cinquante familles. L'accroissement auroit été plus grand si les États Unis avoient encouragé cet établissement. Loin de l'encourager, ils y ont mis continuellement des entraves, disputant la possession des terres à ceux qui les avoient achetées des sauvages très légitimement. Les américains qui sont venus s'y établir ont aussi retardé le progrès, leur voisinage devenant redoutable aux voisins français par mille chicanes qu'on leur faisoit et des dommages continuels qu'ils ne pouvoient éviter. Jusqu'au moment de l'érection du territoire Michigan, les États Unis n'avoient jamais protégé les établissements françois du Détroit et des environs, ne les croyant pas d'assez grande importance, ou la communication étant trop éloignée, ou n'aimant pas à favoriser des françois qu'ils ne croyaient pas bien attachés à la constitution américaine. Quoiqu'il en soit, voici l'histoire ecclésiastique de ce comté.

En 1779 M. Fréchette, curé du Détroit, vint visiter cet établissement pour la première fois, et ayant convoqué une assemblée générale il les exhorta de la part de M. l'Évêque de Québec de bâtir ou une église ou une chapelle et presbytère, afin que lui ou un autre prêtre pût venir de tems à autre leur procurer les secours de la religion. Tout le monde acquiesça à cette proposition ; on se mit à l'ouvrage et la chapelle et le

the country was Mr. Navarre who belongs to one of the best families of Detroit. In a short while he induced his brothers to settle near him. This occurred in 1788. The settlement made rapid very progress and in 1796, when Mr. Levadoux went to visit the settlers, there were five hundred families there. There would have been a greater increase if the United States had encouraged this settlement. Instead of encouraging it they hampered it continually by disputing the possession of properties with parties who had bought them lawfully from the Indians. The Americans who came to settle there retarded development, their proximity being a constant source of annoyance to their French neighbors who suffered many losses which they were unable to avoid. The United States had never given any protection to the French settlements at Detroit and its environs until Michigan had become a territory, either because it did not regard them as being worth while or since they were so far removed they did not favor the French whom they looked upon as not being favorably disposed towards the American Constitution. Be this as it may, the following is the ecclesiastical history of this [section].

In 1779, Mr. Frechette, parish priest of Detroit, came to visit this settlement for the first time, and having called a general meeting of the settlers he exhorted them, in the name of the Bishop of Quebec, to build a church, or chapel, and a priest's house, so that he or some other priest could come from time to time to afford them means of performing their religious duties. Everybody agreed to the proposal; work was begun and the chapel and priest's house were built just as they exist to-day. Mr. Frechette kept his word and came to visit them from time to time, heard their confessions, offered Holy Mass for them and administered the Sacraments. When the English were hard pressed by the Americans to surrender Detroit and the neigh-

presbytère furent bâtis tels qu'ils existent maintenant. M. Fréchette leur tint parole et vint les visiter de tems à autre pour recevoir leurs confessions, leur dire la sainte messe et leur administrer les sacrements.

Au moment que les anglois étoient vivement pressés par les américains de leur rendre le Détroit et les établissemens d'alentour selon les termes du traité, ils engagèrent un M. Burke, prêtre irlandois, grand vicaire du diocèse de Québec, d'aller comme leur commissionnaire à la Rivière aux Raisins, pour travailler à retenir dans le parti anglois les françois et les sauvages de ce lieu. Si on y avoit réussi, on leur auroit fait faire une pétition pour demander de leur rester soumis, on auroit fait part de cette pétition aux américains qui peut-être auroient refusé de prendre par force un pays dont les habitans refusoient de leur obéir. Comme M. Burke étoit grand-vicaire, plein de talens et bien intentionné pour les anglois, on ne doutoit pas du succès. L'exercice des fonctions du ministère qu'il se proposoit d'y exercer, et qu'il exerça en effet, fortifioit ces espérances ; mais les choses allèrent bien autrement. Il se forma dans cette paroisse un parti très puissant contre lui, qu'on appelloit le parti américain. Ce parti étoit d'ailleurs soutenu assez publiquement. Toutes les prédications de M. Burke furent regardées comme des discours de politique, des invitations à l'esclavage. Il fut obligé d'interrompre et de cesser quelquefois ses prédications. On le menaça et les menaces devinrent plus sérieuses lorsqu'on vit qu'il s'obstinoit à rester dans le pays pour fortifier le parti anglois qui étoit très faible. Ses jours furent même en danger, et il auroit péri par le glaive ou le poison s'il étoit demeuré encore. Il s'échappa secrètement, et il n'eut jamais honte de sa fuite, disant à tout le mon-

boring settlements (according to the terms of the treaty) they engaged a Mr. Burke, an Irish Vicar-General of the Diocese of Quebec, to proceed to Raisin River as their commissioner and locate there in order to work for the retention of the French and the Indians of the place within the English territory. Had this mission been successful a memorial would have been drawn up requesting them to remain subject to the English government. The Americans would have been apprised of this request and probably they would have declined to take by force a section of the country whose people refused to submit to them. As Mr. Burke was a Vicar-General, very capable and favorably disposed towards the English, success seemed assured. The fact that he proposed to exercise the ministry there (and actually did so) lent added force to these expectations ; but the programme miscarried. A strong faction, known as the American party, was formed in opposition to him, which was moreover backed up by popular sentiment. Mr. Burke's sermons were construed as political speeches—an invitation to bondage. He was forced to interrupt his discourses and sometimes to cease preaching. Threats were uttered against him and these became more serious when it was seen that he persisted in remaining in the country to bolster up the English party, which was very weak. His life even was in danger and probably he would have been removed by poison or the sword had he remained there longer. He fled secretly and never seemed to feel ashamed of it, telling everybody that he could not have remained there a day longer without losing his life.⁹⁰

Mr. Levadoux having replaced Mr. Frechette at Detroit, came from time to time to Raisin River as missionary to administer the sacraments till the time of my arrival from France. After all three of us, Mr. Levadoux, Mr. Richard and myself had discussed

de qu'il n'auroit pu y rester un jour de plus sans perdre la vie.

M. Levadoux ayant pris la place de M. Fréchette au Détroit vint de tems à autre à la Rivière aux Raisins comme missionnaire leur administrer les sacremens jusqu'à mon arrivée de France. Après avoir délibéré tous les trois, M. Levadoux, M. Richard et moi, il fut convenu que j'irois m'établir à la Rivière aux Raisins pour y former une paroisse, dont les limites étoient, à l'est le lac Érié, au nord la Rivière aux Écorces, à l'ouest jusqu'à la mer Pacifique, au sud jusqu'au poste Vincennes, c. a. d. à trois cent lieues au-delà. Il a fallu exhorter, instruire ce peuple, adoucir son caractère et les rendre dociles à la voix du prêtre, détruire l'esprit de parti, réformer les mœurs, arracher les scandales, de l'ivrognerie, du commerce avec les sauvages par la vente des liqueurs fortes, modérer leur amour du plaisir, de la bonne chaire et de la danse portée aux plus grands excès, les former à la modestie chrétienne, leur inspirer du zèle pour l'éducation chrétienne de leurs enfans, les rendre assidus à l'église, aux prières, aux sacrements, fidèles aux commandemens de l'Eglise pour l'abstinence et le jeûne, &c. On peut dire qu'ils étoient à demi sauvages. Les troubles séditieux du tems de M. Burke leur avoient inspiré la haine de tout joug et de toute autorité. Bien des fois il m'a fallu souffrir leur contradiction, leurs persécutions. Avec le tems et la douceur je réussissois à les gagner, à leur faire reconnoître leurs torts, même à leurs chefs de parti. Mais irrités de me voir avancer pas à pas vers la réforme des abus, ils étoient excités à de nouvelles entreprises contre moi, lorsqu'on leur faisoit envisager la honte de la réparation publique qu'ils étoient eux-mêmes déterminés à faire. Plus le nombre des abus diminuoit, plus le nombre des bons paroissiens augmentoit, et plus le Seigneur me menageoit de

the subject, it was agreed that I should go and locate at Raisin River to organize a parish whose boundaries should be Lake Erie on the East ; River Écorce on the north ; westward, the Pacific Ocean ; southward, Post Vincennes — that means three hundred leagues beyond. I had to exhort and instruct these people, make them tractable and docile to the voice of the priest, destroy the spirit of faction, reform their morals, root out scandals, such as drunkenness, the selling of strong drink to the Indians, restrain their love for amusements, carousing and dancing which was carried on to a great excess, form them in the ways of Christian modesty, inspire them with zeal for the Christian education of their children, make them punctual in assisting at the Church services, prayers, and the sacraments, faithful in observing the laws of the church regarding abstinence, fasting, etc. It might be said that they were practically savages. The riotous happenings during Mr. Burke's time had inspired them with a hatred of restraining influences and authority. Often I was obliged to suffer contradictions and persecution at their hands, With time and by kindness I succeeded in winning them over and made even the leaders of the factions acknowledge their wrong-doing. Yet they were exasperated to see me advance step by step towards the reformation of abuses. They were roused to further violence toward me when they realized the shame of public reparation which they themselves had determined to make. As abuses disappeared, the number of worthy parishoners increased, and the Lord gave me greater grace to bear the trials sent me by hell, of which certain parishoners were the instruments and agents, unconsciously perhaps. But in the end religion gained the mastery over their hearts. When Bishop Denaut of Quebec came to Detroit and the surrounding country in 1800 to administer Confirmation, my parish signalized itself by the

combats à soutenir de la part de l'enfer, dont quelques-uns de mes paroissiens étoient les instrumens et les suppôts, sans le savoir peut-être; mais à la fin tout se terminoit par le triomphe de la religion sur leurs cœurs. Lorsqu'en 1800, M. Denaux, évêque de Québec, vint au Détroit et aux environs donner la confirmation, ma paroisse se distingua plus que toutes les autres par l'assiduité aux instructions et prières qui se firent pendant trois jours, et par le nombre respectif de ceux qui reçurent les sacrements. Il en fut de même au jubilé que je fis par ordre de M. l'Évêque de Baltimore en 1805. Le zèle pour en profiter fut plus grand et plus universel que dans les autres paroisses. Ce qui l'avoit animé plus vivement fut le changement de ma résidence au Détroit en 1804 lorsque je partis pour la mission de Michilimackinac, et que je fis la mission aux Hurons et aux établissemens françois éloignés de l'église du Détroit. Je vins plusieurs fois pour les visiter comme missionnaire et je restois plusieurs semaines avec eux. Tous venoient avec empressement pour profiter de la mission et ne pas s'exposer à mourir dans le péché et sans sacrements. Dans ma dernière mission qui fut pour le jubilé et la pâque en même tems, l'ennemi du salut suscita contre moi la plus violente persécution, mais tout se termina par le plus grand succès. Tous les cœurs furent à moi sans partage. Ils me témoignèrent le plus vif regret de ma perte, et ils l'ont témoigné de même après mon départ, même les plus acharnés à me persécuter et qui étoient devenus mes meilleurs amis. Voici l'état où je les ai laissés. Lorsque M. Richard vint les voir l'année suivante, ils vinrent tous se présenter au sacrement de pénitence et M. Richard n'y pouvait suffire. Cette dernière année il m'a dit qu'il y avoit eu du changement. Cela n'est pas surprenant puisqu'ils sont privés des sacrements et d'instructions tout le tems de l'année. Voilà de quoi exciter le zèle

attendance at the instructions (which lasted three days) and by the relatively large numbers who received the sacraments. The same thing was evidenced during the jubilee which I held by order of the Bishop of Baltimore in 1805. The desire to profit by it was greater and more general than in any of the other parishes. What induced this was the changing of my residence to Detroit in 1804 when I set out for the mission at Michilimackinac and for the missions to the Hurons and the French settlements which were at some distance from the church at Detroit. I came to visit them several times as missionary and remained with them several weeks. All came eagerly to make the mission so as not to risk dying in sin, without the Sacraments. During my last mission which was on the occasion of the jubilee and Easter duty at the same time, the Evil One stirred up the most violent persecution against me, but all ended satisfactorily. I had gained the hearts of all without exception.

They expressed the keenest regret to lose me ; and they gave similar testimony after my departure. Even those who had been my bitterest enemies had become the best of friends. Thus I left them. When Mr. Richard came to see them the year following they all approached the Sacrament of Penance, and Mr. Richard could hardly attend to them. Last year he told me that quite a change had come over the place. This is not surprising since the people are deprived of the Sacraments and instructions for a whole year. Here is something to arouse the zeal of French priests who would like to go to America and work for the conversion of the Indians. They would have a two-fold objective to attain, as by working for the sanctification of the French Catholics, they would find within easy reach means of preaching the gospel to the Indians. Raisin River is not the only place in this parish ; other places are connected with it, such as River au Loutre,

des prêtres français qui voudroient passer en Amérique et travailler à la conversion des sauvages. Ils auroient un double objet à remplir, et en travaillant à la sanctification des français catholiques, ils pourroient trouver auprès de chez eux le moyen de prêcher l'évangile aux sauvages. L'établissement de la Rivière aux Raisins n'est pas le seul composant cette paroisse. Il y en a encore d'autres qui en dépendent, comme celui de la rivière aux loutres, de la rivière au sables, de la rivière aux roches, de la rivière au cygne, de la rivière aux Hurons sud, de la grosse roche où il y a des français avec les Hurons, de Montrogon, autre village des Hurons, de la rivière aux écorces en deça, mais ce dernier établissement doit être ajouté à la paroisse du Détroit.

L'ILE DE MICHILIMAKINACK

L'île qu'on appelle Michilimakinack, et qui est le lieu principal et presque unique du comté de ce nom, signifie — en sauvage — l'île de la tortue. Elle est située au milieu de plusieurs îles à l'extrémité septentrionale du lac Huron, à quinze lieues de l'île St-Joseph où les anglois ont bâti nouvellement un fort. Cette île a environ trois lieues de tour et est extrêmement pierreuse, incapable d'être cultivée dans la plus grande partie de son étendue. Il y a néanmoins maintenant trois ou quatre métairies qui ont assez bien réussi. Les habitans de la ville ont aussi entrepris avec succès depuis trois ou quatre ans de faire des jardins; il n'y en avoit pas un seul auparavant. La ville a trois rues principales bien alignées toutes trois sur la pente de la montagne près du lac. La plus haute rue est la plus belle par sa largeur et le nombre des maisons ou magasins des marchands. Les autres rues traversent les premières et ne sont pas si bien alignées ni si bien garnies de maisons; on peut compter cent cinquante

River aux Roches, River au Cygne, Huron River south, and Grosse Roche where there are French settlers amongst the Hurons, Montrogon[?] another Huron village, and River Écorce, but the last mentioned should be joined to the parish of Detroit.

ISLAND OF MICHILIMACKINAC

The island called Michilimackinac which is the chief, and practically, the only place in the county of this name means the "island of the tortoise." It is situated among several islands at the northern extremity of Lake Huron, fifteen leagues from St. Joseph's Island where the English have recently built a fort. This island is about three leagues in circumference, and it is very rocky, most of it being unfit for cultivation. Yet at the present time there are three or four small farmers who are succeeding fairly well. The townsfolk within the last three or four years have successfully undertaken to make gardens where formerly not a single one existed. The town has three important streets regularly laid out, all of them being on the hillside near the lake. The uppermost street is the finest on account of its width and the number of houses and merchants' shops. The other streets are not so regular or so well lined with houses. There are in all one hundred and fifty houses and between seven or eight hundred inhabitants who reside there summer and winter. In summer time quite a number of merchants of different nationalities reside there, chiefly French Canadians, next in order come English, Scotch and Americans. [During the winter] they leave two or three clerks there to take care of the houses, do a little business, look after repairs and guard the stores. Laborers, fishermen, woodchoppers, bakers and others also remain there during the winter. In the suburbs at the fort close to the town, there are a number of Can-

maisons et environ 7 à huit cents habitants de résidence, en été ou en hyver. On y voit des marchands de différentes nations qui y demeurent tout l'été, principalement des français canadiens, ensuite des écossois, des anglois et des américains. Ils laissent deux ou trois commis chacun dans leur maison pour la garder, faire quelques petites affaires et avoir soin des réparations et des magasins. Les ouvriers, pêcheurs, bûcherons, boulangers et autres y restent aussi pendant l'hiver. Le faubourg, qui est sur le fort sur le bord du lac et qui tient presque à la ville, contient un certain nombre de marchands canadiens qui font un assez grand commerce mais non pas aussi grand que les marchands de la ville. Le fort est placé sur un roc très élevé et presque à pic. Le chemin à pied pour y monter est très escarpé quoiqu'assez large, mais celui-ci ne peut servir pour les voitures ni les gens à cheval. Il y en a un autre par derrière un peu moins rapide pour les chevaux et les voitures. Le fort est bâti régulièrement avec une grande place d'armes, des murs de pierre, des portes très fortes, une posterne sur le derrière bien gardée, des maisons pour les officiers bien bâties et très agréables, une tour où le drapeau américain est arboré pour signaler les bâtiments et un belvédère auprès de la guérite du sentinelle qui présente une étendue immense de différents lacs à une distance immense. La maison du commandant du fort est au dessous du fort sur la pente de la côte moins pierreuse, dans une place très verdoyante, et ce bâtiment est très vaste. Le jardin qui est un peu plus bas est immense et très bien soigné avec des eaux de source qui l'arrosent constamment, et y entretiennent la fraîcheur par les canaux qu'on y a pratiqués. Les arbres qui le couvrent fournissent de très beaux fruits et en abondance. Les autres officiers ont aussi des jardins au bas du fort auprès du lac et de la ville. Ce fort est toujours bien garni d'artillerie et il y a constamment

adian traders who do considerable trade, but not so large as is done by the merchants in the town. The fort is located on a high rocky promontory which is almost perpendicular. The footpath leading to it is very steep though fairly wide ; but it cannot be used by vehicles or by people on horseback. There is another path in the rear for horses and wagons, which is not so steep. The fort is built in regular form with a large parade ground, stone walls, strong gates and a well guarded postern,

It has well-built and comfortable houses for the officers, a tower flying the American flag to signal passing vessels and a lookout near the sentry-box which has a range extending for a great distance over the different lakes. The house of the commandant — a very spacious building — is situated below the fort on a green point where the coast is less rocky. The garden, a little lower down, is quite large and it is well cared for, and is irrigated by a regular supply of spring water conveyed by drains, which keeps it always in bloom. The trees planted there bear abundance of very fine fruit. The other officers have gardens also below the fort near the lake and the town. This fort is always well supplied with artillery and three or four companies of soldiers are usually quartered there. During winter there is no communication with the outer world unless one hasard a trip over the ice — something that is rarely done.

During the summer there is a great influx of merchants, hired men, and Indians. For three months nothing else is to be seen but the coming and going of canoes, or Frenchmen and Indians arriving in canoes and nearly as many leaving. There must have been at least seven or eight hundred Indians, but it was not easy to

trois ou quatre compagnies de soldats ; pendant l'hiver on n'a aucune communication avec le reste du monde, à moins que l'on se hasarde à voyager sur la glace, ce qui est très rare.

Pendant l'été l'affluence des marchands, des engagés, des sauvages, est immense. Pendant trois mois on ne voit autre chose que des canots arriver ou partir, ou des français ou des sauvages arriver à la fois dans des canots et à peu près autant partir dans le même jour. Il y avoit au moins 7 à huit cents sauvages, mais on ne peut pas les compter aisément. Les sauvages et les jeunes matelots apportent des pelleteries et lorsqu'ils s'en vont ils emportent des marchandises comme indiennes, haches, fusils, fortes liqueurs, &c. Ces pelleteries partent aussi bientôt après pour Montréal ou par la route de l'est directe à travers les lacs et les rivières dans l'espace de quatre ou cinq cents lieues, ou par la route plus longue du Détroit, du lac Erié, du lac Ontario, et du fleuve St-Laurent. Les canots dont je parle sont d'écorce aussi grands que des bateaux, qu'on porte sur ses épaules lorsqu'il faut faire un portage, c'est à dire lorsqu'il faut voyager par terre pour aller joindre un lac ou une rivière. On décharge le canot et on fait des paquets qu'on porte sur son dos, un autre porte le canot, et c'est ainsi qu'on va joindre une autre route par eau. Si le canot rencontre quelque bas fonds ou effleure quelques roches, il est bientôt raccommode en y mettant une pièce qu'on joint avec du goudron. Si on est obligé de s'arrêter à cause du gros tems, de la difficulté de doubler une pointe, on amène le canot à terre et s'il pleut en le tournant à moitié il sert d'abri contre la pluie et aussi contre le soleil et le grand vent. Il sert même de logement et de tente pendant la nuit.

Les Jésuites, comme on le voit dans des lettres édifiantes, avoient fait de Michilimakinack un des

count them. The Indians and the young boatmen bring furs, and when they leave they take away goods such as hatchets, guns, strong liquors, etc. The furs are soon shipped off to Montreal either by the direct route to the eastward across the lakes and down the rivers — a trip of four or five hundred leagues, or by the longer route by the way of Detroit, Lake Erie Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The canoes which I have mentioned are built of birchbark and as large as boats, which are hoisted on the shoulders when it is necessary to make a portage, that is, a land journey, to connect with lakes and rivers. The canoe is unloaded and the freight is carried in bundles on the back; somebody else carries the canoe and in this way connection is made with another water route. If the canoe gets into the shallows or hits a rock it is soon repaired by sticking on a piece of bark plastered with tar. If it is necessary to halt on the trip on account of bad weather, or if there is a difficulty to round a point the canoe is beached and may be converted into a shelter against the rain or as a protection against the sun and heavy winds.

The Jesuits, as may be seen in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, had made Michilimackinac one of the first stations in their missions to the Indians on account of the large traffic carried on there during the summer months between the Indians who came from distant parts and the French who resort there for business. A church and presbytery are still to be seen there with vestments, books, and suitable furnishings. It is true that Michilimackinac, or Mission of St. Ignace, was formerly located at a point on the mainland seven leagues away and the church and presbytery were brought from there. The island was named Michilimackinac after the old mission and it is even more frequented now than for-

premiers lieux de leurs missions pour les sauvages à cause du grand commerce qui se trouve pendant l'été des nations sauvages qui viennent de pays très éloignés et des français qui s'y rendent pour le commerce. Aussi y voit-on encore une église et un presbytère avec ornements, livres, et meubles convenables. Il est vrai que Michilimakinack ou mission de St-Ignace étoit autrefois à la pointe de la terre ferme à sept lieues au-delà et qu'on a transporté à l'île actuelle l'église et l'ancien presbytère. Mais l'île a reçu le nom de l'ancien Michilimakinack et la place n'est pas moins fréquentée; elle l'est même plus qu'autre fois et le port plus commode pour mouiller à l'abri des vents et d'aborder, décharger même les marchandises sans quai à cause de la profondeur de l'eau. On y a aussi plus aisément du bois, soit dans l'île même, soit dans une autre très voisine, qu'on appelle le bois blanc. L'ancien Michilimakinack ne conserve que 3 ou 4 maisons. La baie des puants est à une 20^{ne} de lieues de là et là se trouvent plusieurs établissements français, au moins une 20^{ne}, composés de bons catholiques qui se sont empressés de venir à ma mission aussitôt qu'ils en ont appris la nouvelle.

Au fort anglois St-Joseph, il y a 4 ou 5 familles catholiques, au sault Ste-Marie, à 20 lieues vers le nord, on compte encore 5 ou 6 familles catholiques et de même au grand portage dans le lac Supérieur. Au fort St-Joseph il y a quelques familles catholiques. Ce fort est au sud du lac Michigan à quelque distance du nouveau fort américain Chicago, où l'on trouveroit aussi des catholiques. Ceux de St-Joseph sont venus à ma mission de Michilimakinack.

Le plus ancien registre pour cette mission commence le 25 août 1695, et finit en 1741, 29 août. Sur le deuxième registre se trouve un seul baptême administré en 1741, 48^{ième} par le père Meunier. Les suivants

merly and the harbor is more convenient for anchorage, better sheltered from the winds, more suitable for landing cargoes in the offing as the water is quite deep. Futhermore, wood is more easily procured, either on the island itself or on one called Bois Blanc, close by. Only three or four houses remain at old Michilimackinac. Putrid Bay [Green Bay] is 20 leagues distant, where there are several French settlements and at least a score of them with good Catholics who readily came to my mission as soon as they got word of it. At the English Fort St. Joseph there are four or five Catholic families, at Sault Ste. Marie, 20 leagues to the north, there are five or six families, a similar number at Grand Portage on Lake Superior. At Fort St. Joseph there are several Catholic families. This fort is on the southern end of Lake Michigan at some distance from the new American Fort Chicago where Catholics might also be found. Those of St. Joseph came to my mission at Michilimackinac.

The earliest register in this mission begins August 25, 1695 and ends August 29, 1741. Only one baptism is recorded in 1741, the 48th by Father Meunier. The others, from May 12, 1742, are by Father du Jaunay, up to July 12, 1744. Following are 2 baptisms by Father Coqueid, then [an entry] by Father du Jaunay, July 15, 1753, then by Father Lefranc till 1761. Father du Jaunay again appears and continues till July 3, 1765.

Mr. Gibault a secular priest and missionary apostolic who came from the Illinois country then, appears on October 3, 1775. [There is no further record] till the time of Mr. Payet, parish priest of Detroit who begins this mission on July 15, 1786, and continues till August 25, 1787. On May 8th 1784, appears Mr. le Dru⁹¹ who calls himself a missionary apostolic; but after several inquiries

depuis mai 12, 1742, par le père du Jaunay jusqu'au 12 juillet 1744. On trouve ensuite 2 baptêmes par le père Coqueid, puis par le père du Jaunay 15 juillet 1753, et le père Lefranc, jusqu'à 1761. Revient ensuite le père du Jaunay qui continue jusqu'au 3 juillet 1765.

M. Gibault, prêtre séculier et missionnaire apostolique venant des Illinois, paroît ensuite le 3 8bre 1775 jusqu'à M. Payet, curé de Détroit, qui a commencé cette mission le 15 juillet 1786 et a continué jusqu'au 25 août 1787. On voit paroître le 8 mai 1794 M. le Dru se disant missionnaire apostolique ; mais après plusieurs informations qu'on a faites ensuite sur sa personne, il s'est trouvé qu'il n'étoit pas autorisé par les supérieurs ecclésiastiques. Il a néanmoins exercé à Michilimackinack les fonctions de missionnaire. Il a dit la messe dans un gobelet d'argent non consacré, administré les sacrements, baptême, mariage, pénitence et eucharistie pendant un an ou environ.

Le 27 juillet 1796, M. Levadoux, prêtre de la Compagnie de St-Sulpice et grand vicaire de M. l'Évêque de Baltimore, y a fait une mission de quelques semaines. On voit dans le registre plusieurs baptêmes, mariages faits et signés par lui. C'est dans le tems qu'il venoit des Illinois pour se rendre à la paroisse et mission du Détroit et St-Clair pour remplacer M. Fréchette. Il avoit pris la route du lac Michigan et de Michilimackinack, et après sa mission il passa le lac saumon et se rendit à Détroit le jour de l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge, le 15 août, 1796. Le 3 juin 1799, M. Richard, prêtre de la compagnie de St-Sulpice, adjoint de M. Levadoux et missionnaire au Détroit, vint à Michilimackinack pour faire une mission. Il fit réparer l'église et le presbytère ainsi que le cimetière auquel les américains fournirent la moitié de la dépense ; de là ceux-ci ont dû acquérir le droit de s'y faire enterrer sans cérémonie et avec une petite clôture d'entourage. On voit plu-

made subsequently regarding him it was found that he had not been authorized by ecclesiastical authority. He exercised the ministry notwithstanding at Michilimackinac and said Mass with a silver goblet which was not consecrated, administered the Sacraments of Baptism, Marriage, Penance, and the Eucharist for a year or thereabouts.

On July 27, 1796, Mr. Levadoux, priest of the Company of St. Sulpice, and Vicar-General of the Bishop of Baltimore, held a mission here for several weeks. The register contains records of several baptisms and marriages performed by him. This was whilst he was on his way from the Illinois country to replace Mr. Frechette in the parish and mission of Detroit and St. Clair. He had taken the route by Lake Michigan and Michilimackinac and after the mission came by way of Lake Saumon to Detroit on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, 1796. On June 3, 1799, Mr. Richard, priest of the Company of St. Sulpice, assistant to Mr. Levadoux and missionary at Detroit, came to Michilimackinac to hold a mission. He repaired the church and the presbytery, likewise the cemetery, the Americans furnishing half the cost. This gave them the right to burial there without any ceremonies, the plot being enclosed by a small fence. There are several records of baptisms and marriages signed by Mr. Richard. He had several boys and girls make their first communion after the mission. He visited the English fort on St. Joseph's Island, Fort St. Mary and Arbre Croche, but did not do any mission work. He intended to spend the winter at Michilimackinac as the people asked him to do so, but he was obliged to return to Detroit to assist Mr. Levadoux in his parochial work.²³

sieurs baptêmes et mariages signés par M. Richard ; il fit faire la première communion à quelques garçons et filles après cette mission. Il visita l'île de St-Joseph fort anglois, le fort Ste Marie et l'arbre croche et n'y exerça point son ministère. Il se proposoit de passer l'hiver à Michilimakinack, car les habitans le lui avoient demandé avec instance, mais il fut obligé de retourner au Détroit pour aider M. Levadoux dans les fonctions et œuvres de son zèle.

Le 9 juin 1804, M. Dilhet, prêtre de St-Sulpice, missionnaire au Détroit, à la Rivière aux Raisins, à Michilimakinack et dans tout le nord de l'Amérique, arriva dans cette île pour y faire la mission, et elle dura six semaines. Il y fit grand nombre de baptêmes dont quelques-uns des sauvages adultes et convertis, plusieurs mariages soit de Canadiens soit entre Canadiens et sauvages, plusieurs premières communions dont quelques-unes de sauvages et un grand nombre d'autres communions paschales et de dévotion. Il prit un état de la fabrique après avoir fait rendre compte aux anciens marguilliers des deniers qui avoient été entre leurs mains. Il en élut aussi de nouveaux et l'inventaire qu'il fit de tous les biens et effets appartenant à la fabrique de cette mission fut signé par les marguilliers et notaires du lieu. Les habitans firent encore une humble requête à M. l'Évêque signée par un très grand nombre de personnes dans laquelle ils demandoient un prêtre à résidence ou au moins un missionnaire pour ne pas se voir privés à la vie et à la mort des secours de la religion. M. Dilhet a mis entre les mains de l'Évêque l'inventaire et la requête et M. l'Évêque en témoigna sa satisfaction désirant ardemment de pouvoir leur envoyer un missionnaire, mais ses désirs ont été impuissans jusqu'à présent. Nous finirons en disant que Michilimakinack étant devenu un comté par la division du territoire Michigan, il y a une cour de

On June 9, 1804, Mr. Dilhet, priest of St. Sulpice, missionary at Detroit, Raisin River, Michilimackinac and all the northern part of America arrived on this island to hold a mission, which lasted six weeks. He performed a large number of baptisms, (some of them being baptism of Indian adults and converts), assisted at several marriages of Canadians and Indians, administered several first communions (some of them made by Indians) a great number of paschal communions and others made from devotion. He took an inventory of the fabric after having made the churchwardens furnish a statement of the funds in hand. He also held an election of new churchwardens and had the inventory of the fabric signed by the churchwardens and notaries of the place. The people drew up a largely signed memorial to the Bishop asking for a resident priest, or, at least, a missionary so as not to be deprived in life and at death of the benefits of religion. Mr. Dilhet placed the inventory and the memorial in the hands of the bishop who expressed his satisfaction in due course and his desire to be in a position to send a priest ; but so far, his desires have not been realized. We will end by saying that Michilimackinac having become a county by the division of Michigan territory, it has a Court of Quarter Sessions, that is, a court held four times a year, and from which an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of Detroit. The county is very small as regards population as it comprises, so to speak, only the island of Michilimackinac. I do not think the population exceeds two hundred.^{92a}

4 sessions, c. à d., une cour de justice qui se tient 4 fois dans l'année, et de laquelle on peut appeler à la cour supérieure du Détroit. Ce comté est très petit pour sa population ne renfermant pour ainsi dire que l'île de Michilimackinack et je ne crois pas qu'elle monte à plus de douze cents.

LE TERRITOIRE INDIANA

C'est au mois de janvier 1801 que ce territoire fut établi avec les pouvoirs et privilèges du gouvernement temporaire. Il est situé entre la grande rivière Miami à l'est et le Mississippi à l'ouest, au sud de l'Ohio et au nord des Illinois. Il est divisé en 3 comtés, savoir celui de Knox, de Randolph et de St-Clair. Le sol y est très fertile et produit du maïs, du seigle, de l'avoine, du bled, du coton, du chanvre, du tabac, &c. Les deux comtés de l'ouest Randolph et St-Clair ont demandé dernièrement au Congrès d'être uni au territoire de la Haute Louisiane pour former un seul gouvernement territorial. Je ne sais pas la suite de cette affaire. Je soupçonne qu'elle a réussi et la pétition accordée.

COMTÉ DE KNOX

Ce comté existe depuis 1790. Il appartenait auparavant au territoire du nord-ouest de l'Ohio ; voici ses bornes, ou plutôt son étendue : il commence à La Roche ou grande fourche de la grande rivière Miami, descend avec cette rivière jusqu'à son confluent avec l'Ohio ; de là avec l'Ohio il va jusqu'au ruisseau au-dessus du fort Massé, suit la ligne orientale du comté St-Clair jusqu'à l'embouchure du petit Michilimackinack ; de là il monte la rivière aux Illinois jusqu'au confluent de Theakiki et de Chicago. Ou y compte près de 26 mille habitants. Il y en a qui font remonter avec raison le

INDIANA TERRITORY

This territory was established with powers of temporary government in the month of January, 1801. It is situated between the Big Miami River, on the east, and the Mississippi on the west, with Ohio on the south, and Illinois to the north. It is divided into three counties, namely Knox, Randolph and St. Clair. The soil is very fertile and produces maize, barley, oats, wheat, cotton, hemp, tobacco, etc. The two western counties, Randolph and St. Clair, have recently petitioned Congress to be united with the Territory of Upper Louisiana so as to form a single territorial government. I do not know the outcome of this matter. I am under the impression that it has been successful and that the petition has been granted.

KNOX COUNTY

This county has been in existence since 1790. It formerly belonged to the North-West Territory of Ohio. Its boundaries, or rather its limits, are as follows: it begins at La Roche or the great fork of the big Miami River, continues with the course of this river to its junction with the Ohio, thence with the Ohio it continues to the brook at Fort Massé, follows the eastern line of St. Clair County to the Mouth of the Little Michilimackinac, whence it ascends the Illinois River to its junction with the Theakaki and the Chicago. It has a population of nearly 26,000. Some, with good

comté jusqu'au lac Supérieur et au lac des Bois ; mais comme il n'est habité que par les sauvages, plusieurs auteurs n'en parlent pas, et le grand nombre de savannes, c. à. d. de vastes plaines sans arbres qu'on y voit, ne donnent pas lieu d'espérer qu'il s'établisse des plantations dans ces cantons. Ces différentes nations sauvages sont les Illinois, les Wabaches, les Miami, les Wyandotes ou Loups, les Kichapots, les Outauias, les Chippewas, les Putawatomies, &c. Ils sont en paix avec les États Unis depuis le traité de paix conclu avec le général Wayne à Grandville en 1795. Ce comté, ainsi que le territoire Indiana, produit du coton, &c., mais surtout du sucre venant de l'érable. Son climat est délicieux comme son sol très fertile. Le Poste Vincennes ou St-Vincent est le chef-lieu de ce comté et le siège du gouvernement. Le gouverneur actuel est M. Harrison que je connois particulièrement et qui jouit d'une grande réputation pour ses talens et ses vertus. Il est extrêmement honnête et civil. Cette ville est située sur la rivière Wabache à cinquante lieues de son embouchure, longitude 33 W. Sa situation est très agréable étant environnée d'une vaste prairie qui produit un très beau gazon. Le sol est un des plus fertiles des États Unis même en bled et en raisins. C'est une place centrale pour le commerce. Les marchands y apportent leurs marchandises du Canada pour descendre par la Wabache et le Mississippi jusqu'à la Nouvelle-Orléans. Ils remontent ensuite le Mississippi et la Ouabache pour se rendre dans les états de l'est. La ville du poste Vincennes peut contenir 1,700 habitans presque tous français-canadiens. Le gouverneur actuel a fait bâtir une superbe maison pour lui, et le gouvernement, une cour de justice, une prison, &c. Les habitans du Détroit et du territoire Michigan l'ont demandé pour gouverneur à cause de son mérite, mais il a répondu négativement en faisant connaître néanmoins que son inclination le pou-

reason, extend the limits of the county to Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, but as it is inhabited only by Indians several authors do not admit this, and the large number of savannahs, i. e. vast treeless plains, found there, seem to preclude the possibility of establishing settlements in those cantons. The Indian tribes occupying these cantons are the Illinois, the Ouabaches [Wabash], the Miamis, Wyandotes or Wolves, Kickapoos, Outauais, Chippewas, Pottowatomies, etc. These are at peace with the United States since the conclusion of the treaty with General Wayne at Grandville, in 1795. This county, like Indiana, produces cotton, etc., but especially maple sugar. Its climate is as delightful as its soil is fertile. Post Vincennes is the most important place in the county and is the seat of government. The present governor, Mr. Harrison, whom I know very well, is highly esteemed for his ability and his urbanity. He is most upright and courteous. This town is situated fifty leagues from the mouth of the Wabash, in longitude 33° W. It is pleasantly situated, being surrounded by a vast prairie which produces a very beautiful grass. The soil is one of the most productive in the United State in wheat and grapes. It is a commercial centre, and merchants bring their wares here to ship them by the Wabash and the Mississippi to New Orleans, and then ascend the Mississippi and the Wabash to return to the eastern states. The town of Post Vincennes has probably 1,700 people, almost all French-Canadians. The present governor has built himself a splendid residence, and the government a court of justice, a prison, etc. The people of Detroit and Michigan Territory asked [Mr. Harrison] to become their governor, but he declined though he informed them that he had leanings towards Detroit, and that he would accept the invitation were it not that reasons which he

soit-vers le Détroit et qu'il accepteroit sans des considérations qu'il leur a communiquées l'engageoient à refuser. Il y a une église au poste Vincennes et un presbytère. Celui-ci est en très bon état et occupé maintenant par M. Olivier, prêtre français du diocèse d'Angers. Dans le presbytère est une belle bibliothèque ecclésiastique française et latine bien choisie composée de livres neufs tous récents, de nouvelle édition et bien reliés. Elle est un don généreux de M. Flaget, de la Compagnie de St-Sulpice, qui y a exercé les fonctions de pasteur pendant plusieurs années avec le plus grand zèle et avec beaucoup de succès.

M. Rivet, prêtre français du diocèse de Limoges, lui a succédé. Il a été en France professeur pendant plusieurs années à Limoges et auteur d'un excellent journal. Ses talens ne cédoient pas à son zèle et à ses vertus. En arrivant au Poste, il fit un ouvrage en anglois sur les missions des sauvages qu'il présenta au gouvernement américain. Le congrès lui donna des éloges qu'il méritoit, et lui assura pour sa vie une pension de douze cent livres. La difficulté qu'il éprouva pour les langues sauvages ou plutôt sa santé ne lui permit pas d'exécuter ses nobles desseins et ne travaillant pas pour les sauvages il se fit un scrupule de continuer à recevoir la pension du gouvernement ; mais le gouverneur Harrison écrivit au gouvernement qu'on la réablit, ce qui fut accordé sans peine et il l'a reçue jusqu'à sa mort.

M. Harrison lui avoit confié l'administration de ses enfans et on ne peut ajouter à l'estime qu'il avoit pour lui. Volney, dans son tour d'Amérique, s'arrêta quelques jours chez lui et admira ses talens. Il est mort assez jeune, victime de son zèle pour le salut de ses ouailles. M. Richard, qui l'avoit vu travailler dans cette mission, m'a dit plusieurs fois, deux ou trois jours avant sa mort, qu'il lui étoit impossible de ne

had disclosed to them obliged him to refuse. At Post Vincennes²³ there are a church and a presbytery, the latter in splendid condition and at present occupied by Mr. Olivier, a French priest of the diocese of Angers. At the presbytery there is a splendid ecclesiastical library, French and Latin, consisting of choice books either new or recent editions and well bound. It is the generous gift of Mr. Flaget of the Company of St. Sulpice, who had done parochial work there for several years with the greatest zeal and with much success.

Mr. Rivet, a French priest of the diocese of Limoges, succeeded him. Mr. Rivet had been for several years professor at Limoges and is the author of an excellent journal. His attainments were as great as his zeal and his virtues. On his arrival at the Post he compiled a work in English on the Indian missions which he presented to the American Government. Congress lauded his work, and recognized his services in a substantial way by granting him for life a pension of twelve hundred *livres*. The difficulty he experienced in acquiring the Indian languages, or rather his health, did not permit him to carry out his noble purpose, and as he was not working for the conversion of the Indians, he was scrupulous about continuing to draw a pension from the Government. But General Harrison wrote to Congress and requested that it be continued. This request was readily granted and he continued to receive it till his death. Mr. Harrison had entrusted the education of his children to him, and words cannot express how highly he esteemed him. Volney, during his tour of America, remained some days with him and admired his ability. He died quite young — a victim of his zeal for the salvation of his flock. Mr. Richard, who had seen him at work in his mission, said that he would certainly succumb from overwork and his ardent zeal for the welfare of his parishoners.

pas succomber à l'excès du travail et à la vivacité de son zèle pour ses paroissiens.

COMTÉ DE RANDOLPH

Ce comté a pour chef lieu Kaskaskia, situé au sud-ouest de la rivière du même nom, à 4 lieues de son embouchure dans le Mississippi. Cette ville ne contient qu'une centaine de maisons, mais elles sont bien bâties, plusieurs en pierre avec de beaux jardins et des terres tout proches bien cultivées. Il y a près de 500 habitants français et une cinquantaine de nègres. On y voit une église mais très négligée, parceque les prêtres depuis quelque tems n'y résident pas. Il y a aussi un presbytère qui a besoin de réparations pour la même raison. La quantité de bétail qu'on y nourrit est prodigieuse. La Prairie du Rocher est une autre ville sur le Mississippi à une lieue audessous du Fort Chartres ou Chartrain. C'est ordinairement la résidence d'un prêtre lorsqu'il y en a, car il n'y en a pas actuellement. M. Richard, prêtre de St-Sulpice, y a fait sa résidence plusieurs années, chargé en même tems de la congrégation de Kaskaskia. Le presbytère y est très beau et très commode, l'église très jolie et bien soignée. M. Olivier, qui a succédé à M. Richard, y a fait sa résidence avant d'aller au Poste.

COMTÉ DE ST-CLAIR

Ce comté a été établi le 27 avril 1790 et attaché alors au territoire du nord-ouest de l'Ohio ; voici son étendue et ses limites : Commencant à l'embouchure du petit Michilimackinack il va de là par le sud en ligne droite

RANDOLPH COUNTY

Kaskaskia is the most important place in this county. It is situated on the southwestern side of the river of the same name, four leagues from where it debouches into the Mississippi. This town has only a hundred houses, but they are well built, several of them of stone, with splendid gardens and several well-tilled farms in the vicinity. It has a population of about 500 French, and fifty negroes. It has a church, but it is very dilapidated as no priest has resided here for some time. There is also a presbytery badly in need of repairs for the same reason. The number of cattle raised here is enormous. Prairie du Rocher is another town on the Mississippi, one league below Fort Chartres, or Chartrain. It is usually the residence of a priest when there is one; but there is none there at the present time. Mr. Richard, priest of St. Sulpice, resided there for several years and had charge of the congregation of Kaskaskia at the same time. The presbytery there is very fine and very comfortable, the church is handsome and well kept. Mr. Olivier, who succeeded Mr. Richard resided there before going to the Post.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

This county was formed on April 27, 1790 and then attached to the North West Territory of Ohio. Its extent and boundaries are as follows : Beginning at the mouth of the Little Michilimackinac it skirts this river in a southerly direction in a straight line to the mouth of

à l'embouchure de la petite rivière au dessous du fort Massé, de là il suit l'Ohio jusqu'à sa jonction avec le Mississippi ; puis il va à l'embouchure de la rivière des Illinois. Il ne contient pas plus de 1,900 habitans français ou canadiens. Kaokias ou le Kaki est la capitale de ce comté et contient près de 800 âmes. Située à vingt lieues de Kaskasias sur le côté sud de la petite rivière à un mille de son embouchure, il peut y avoir 60 maisons dans la ville et plusieurs autres aux environs, quelques-unes bien bâties. La ville seule contient 300 habitans et une centaine de nègres. Le bétail s'y multiplie beaucoup et les campagnes en sont couvertes. Il y a une église et un presbytère en très bon état. M. Levadoux en était le porteur avant 1795. Il y étoit venu par ordre de ses supérieurs, de M. l'Évêque de Baltimore et de M. Nagot, supérieur du séminaire de St-Sulpice de Baltimore. M. Levadoux y a fait construire une belle église, je ne sais quelle place aux environs. M. Olivier l'a remplacé mais à présent faisant sa résidence au Poste Vincennes, il ne va à Kaokias qu'en mission ou jusqu'à ce que M. l'Évêque puisse envoyer un prêtre à résidence dans un lieu aussi intéressant.

Nous avons parlé ci-dessus de fort Chartres ou Chartrain ; voici ce que nous en sçavons de plus. Ce fort a été bâti par les Français au côté gauche du Mississippi, à une lieue nord de la Prairie du Rocher et à 4 lieues nord de Ste-Geneviève, dans un terrain très bas. Les continuelles inondations du Mississippi l'ont rendu enfin inhabitable et on l'a abandonné en 1772. Le village subsiste encore, mais en 1778 il étoit déjà réduit à peu de choses. A un mille audessus est le village des sauvages Peorias et Mitchigamias. Ce sont des tribus de la nation des Illinois dont le nombre peut aller à 200 guerriers. Nous avons mentionné aussi le fort Massé que nous allons faire connaître. Ce fort a été bâti par

a little stream below Fort Massé, thence it runs along the Ohio to its junction with the Mississippi, and extends to the mouth of the Illinois River. It has not more than 1,900 people who are French, or Canadians. Kaskias or Kaki [Cahokia] is the capital of the county and contains nearly 800 souls.⁶⁴ It is situated twenty leagues from Kaskaskia* on the south bank of Little River, one mile from its mouth. There are possibly 60 houses in the town and several in the near neighborhood, some of them well built. The town itself has a population of 300 French and about one hundred negroes. Cattle thrive there wonderfully and the countryside is covered with them. It has a church and presbytery in fairly good condition. Mr. Levadoux went there by order of his superiors, the Bishop of Baltimore, and Mr. Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Baltimore. He built a splendid church there in the vicinity, I do not know where. Mr. Olivier succeeded him, but at present he resides at Post Vincennes, going to Kaskia [Kaskaskia] on missions till such time as the Bishop can send a resident priest to this interesting spot.

We have spoken above of Fort Chartres or Chartrain.* Here are some additional notes: This fort was established by the French on the left side of the Mississippi one league north of Prairie du Rocher and 4 leagues north of St. Genevieve, on low land. The frequent inundations by the Mississippi finally rendered it uninhabitable, and it was abandoned in 1772. The village still exists, but in 1788 it was reduced to nothing. One mile above is the Indian village of the Peorias and Michigamias. These are tribes of the Illinois nation and have 200 warriors. We have also mentioned Fort Massé which we are going to speak of. This fort was built by the French on the west bank of the Ohio, near

les Français sur le bord occidental de l'Ohio près de son embouchure à 4 lieues audessous du Tennessee. La côte sur laquelle il est placé est élevée et forme un seul roc ou un composé de pierres où il entre beaucoup de matières ferrugineuses. L'eau monte fort haut dans les inondations ; mais cela n'empêche pas que ce fort ne subsiste. Les Américains y tiennent constamment des troupes disciplinées. Les Français catholiques n'y ont point d'église.

LA HAUTE LOUISIANE

La Haute Louisiane est bornée par la Basse Louisiane ou le territoire de la Nouvelle-Orléans au sud ; par le Mississippi à l'est, et au nord et nord-ouest elle a pour bornes les montagnes qui séparent le St-Laurent et la Baye Hudson d'avec celles qui vont se jeter dans la mer Pacifique. Elle est arrosée par la rivière rouge, l'Arkansas, St. François et le Missouri, sans compter un grand nombre d'autres rivières qui se jettent dans le Mississippi. On y compte une population de soixante mille blancs, la plupart français canadiens et catholiques romains. St-Louis et Ste-Geneviève sont les deux villes principales de la Haute Louisiane. St-Louis (autrefois Paincourt parceque dans le tems que les Français découvrirent ce pays et qu'ils ont fondé cette ville ils se trouvèrent courts de pain et de vivres) est la ville capitale de la Haute Louisiane, placée sur le bord occidental du Mississippi à huit lieues audessous de l'embouchure du Missouri. Elle est sur un terrain élevé ; l'air y est très sain et le pays très fertile. Le maïs ou blé d'inde, le froment, le tabac et toutes sortes de fruits

its mouth 4 leagues below Tennessee. The site on which it is built is solid rock or conglomerate in which there is a large quantity of ferruginous matter. The water rises to a great height during the floods ; but this does not impair its shape. The Americans always keep regular troops here. The French Canadian Catholics [there] have no church.

UPPER LOUISIANA

Upper Louisiana is bounded on the south by the Lower Louisiana, or Territory of New Orleans, west by the Mississippi; north and north west its boundaries are the mountains which separate the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay from those [rivers], which empty into the Pacific Ocean. It is watered by the Red River, the Arkansas, the St. Francis, and the Missouri, without reckoning a great number of other rivers flowing into the Mississippi. It has a population of sixty thousand whites most of whom are French Canadians and Roman Catholic. The two most important towns in Upper Louisiana are St. Louis and St. Genevieve. St. Louis (formerly called Paincourt, when the French discovered this country and founded this town they ran short of bread and provisions) is the capital of upper Louisiana⁹⁷ It is situated on an elevated position on the west bank of the Mississippi eight leagues below the mouth of the Missouri. The air is salubrious and the country is very fertile. Maize, or Indian corn, wheat, tobacco, and all kinds of fruits grow there in abundance. There

y viennent en abondance. Il y a dans cette ville grand nombre de marchands français pour le commerce qu'ils font sur les bords du Mississippi et du Missouri à une très grande distance à plusieurs centaines de lieues. La ville renferme plus de cent cinquante maisons de pierre, grandes et commodes, et près de mille habitans dont trois cent sont des nègres. Depuis la révolution française, Dom Didier, bénédictin, que nous avons mentionné ci-dessus, a été curé de cette ville et y est mort il y a trois ou quatre ans. M. Maxwell qui lui avoit succédé vient aussi de mourir; et ce pays est sans prêtres. J'ai vu avant de partir de Baltimore une députation des habitans de St-Louis pour demander à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore un prêtre qui, résidant parmi eux, pût leur procurer les secours de la religion; mais M. l'Évêque n'a pu leur en accorder ainsi qu'à bien d'autres qui en manquent depuis longtems qui en demandent aussi instamment. Ste-Geneviève ou mission, est située sur la droite du Mississippi vis-à-vis Kaskaskia, à 4 lieues au dessous du fort Chartres, à vingt lieues au-dessous de St Louis. Il y a un fort assez considérable et 200 hommes de troupes réglées. Cette ville à 5 ou 600 habitans tous français canadiens. Ils ont eu des prêtres français jusqu'à ce moment à résidence.

TERRITOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE-ORLEANS

Ce territoire ou district renferme toutes les îles formées par les bouches du Mississippi et une partie de l'intérieur des terres à l'est et à l'ouest. Il a été nouvellement établi par la division du territoire de la Louisiane en Haute Louisiane et le territoire de la Nouvelle Orléans. Les habitans se sont donné beaucoup de mouvemens et ont envoyé des députés pour former un état

are a great number of French merchants in the city who do business along the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi with points some hundreds of leagues away. The town contains more than a hundred and fifty large and comfortable houses and nearly a thousand inhabitants of whom three hundred are negroes. Shortly after the French Revolution Dom Didier, a Benedictine, whom we have mentioned above, was parish priest of this town and died there some three or four years ago. Mr. Maxwell, who succeeded him, died recently, and this part of the country is without priests. Before I left Baltimore, I saw a deputation from the people of St. Louis seeking a priest from the Bishop of Baltimore, who should take up his residence there and provide for their spiritual needs. But the Bishop, just as in other sections which needed one badly, was unable to grant their request. St. Genevieve, or the mission, is situated on the right bank of the Mississippi opposite Kaskaskia, four leagues below St. Louis. It has a garrison of considerable importance with 200 regular troops. This town has 500 or 600 inhabitants, French Canadians. They have had French priests resident there up to the present.

TERRITORY OF NEW ORLEANS

This Territory, or District, comprises all the islands formed by the outlets of the Mississippi and a part of the interior to the east and west. It has been recently organized by the division of the Territory of Louisiana into Upper Louisiana and the Territory of New Orleans. The people began an agitation and sent dele-

parfait de l'Union ; mais ils n'ont obtenu que le second degré, ce qu'ils ont vu avec peine. La Nouvelle-Orléans est la capitale de ce territoire. Cette ville est située dans une île formée par le Mississippi à plus de trente lieues de son embouchure et du golfe Mexique. Ses maisons sont en briques blanches. Elles n'ont point de cave, mais le premier étage est en pierre et sert de cave ou de cellier. Le terrain est fort bas ; on prétend même qu'il est plus bas que la rivière et pour éviter les inondations il a fallu faire des chaussées. Les rues sont tirées au cordeau, se coupent à angles droites mais très étroites et la plupart sans pavé. En 1788 on y comptait 1,100 maisons et douze à quinze mille habitants. Elles ont des galeries tout autour et sont élevées de 8 pieds audessus de terre à cause de l'eau et de l'humidité qui s'en suivroit pour les planchers moins élevés. La plupart des maisons ont des jardins sur le derrière ou à côté. Il y en a eu 200 brûlées en 1788 par un incendie, mais elles ont été rebâties en peu de temps en brique et bien solidement avec de bonnes couvertures pour le toit. Elles sont presque toutes de deux étages, il y en a quelques-unes de trois et très belles. Les anciennes maisons qui sont de bois n'ont qu'un étage. Il est inutile de parler ici des dangers de la navigation et de l'abordage sur lesquels les américains géographes s'étendent beaucoup. La chose est importante pour eux, mais ne nous regarde pas. Venons aux édifices publics qui sont : une très belle maison pour le gouvernement, une autre pour la prison, une autre pour l'hôpital royal. Il y a une communication du lac Ponchartrain à la ville par un ruisseau ou petite rivière qui a un cours de deux lieues jusqu'à un quart de lieue de la ville. Là est une barre qui empêche les bâtiments d'aller plus loin s'ils tirent plus de 3 ou 4 pieds d'eau. Alors avec des petits bâtiments on entre dans un nouveau canal creusé en 1792 par M. Carondelet, gouverneur, et qui conduit à la

gates to Congress to demand complete statehood, but they succeeded only in securing a secondary rank, much to their chagrin. New Orleans is the capital of this territory. This city is situated on an island formed by the Mississippi more than thirty leagues from its mouth, and the Gulf of Mexico. The houses here are of whitened bricks ; they have no cellars. The land on which the city is built is very low, and it is claimed that it is lower than the river, and as a protection against floods it has been found necessary to build a causeway. The streets are run in straight lines intersecting at right angles, but they are very narrow and unpaved. In 1788 it had eleven hundred houses and between twelve and fifteen thousand inhabitants. The houses have galleries all around and they are raised about eight feet from the ground on account of the water and the dampness which would result if the floors were lower. Most of the houses have gardens in the rear, or at the side. Two hundred houses were destroyed by fire in 1788 ; but they were rebuilt very solidly in brick with good roofs shortly afterwards. Most of them are two-storied, but some of them have three stories and are very handsome. The old wooden houses had only one story. It is irrelevant to speak here of the danger of navigation and the difficulties attending shipping which American geographers so generally discuss ; this thing is important to them but it does not interest us. We proceed to discuss the public buildings which are a very fine Government House, a prison, and the Royal Hospital. There is communication between Lake Ponchartrain and the city by a brook or small river which flows for two leagues to within a quarter of a league of the city, where there is a bar which prevents vessels drawing more than three or four feet of water from proceeding further. Barges are then used to connect with a new canal leading to the city, which was dug by Governor

ville. A l'extrémité de ce canal, à l'endroit où il se jette dans le lac, il y a un petit fort garni constamment de six gros canons. A l'embouchure du côté de la Louisiane il y a une *blockhouse* ou bastion qu'on appelle le fort Cakre ou demeurent maintenant les pilotes qu'on est obligé de payer 20 gourdes par demi-lieue, à raison de la difficulté de la navigation jusques à dix lieues de cette embouchure. Le pays n'est point cultivé étant un marais continuel. Mais à cette distance il y a un fort qu'on appelle Placamine garni de bonnes troupes et de canons. C'est là qu'il faut s'arrêter, le commandant du fort étant chargé de visiter les papiers de tous les vaisseaux qui passent. Après ce fort le pays est tout différent et le long de la rivière les établissements sont extrêmement serrés. C'est là qu'on a commencé à faire le sucre à canne qu'on tiroit auparavant des indes occidentales. D'autres colonies et établissements les ont imités et actuellement le sucre indigène est devenu un objet de commerce considérable. En général depuis l'achat que les américains ont fait de la Louisiane aux Français, toutes les branches de commerce ont pris beaucoup d'accroissement ainsi que la population. La situation de cette ville à portée du Mexique, des îles du golfe Mexique, en correspondance avec l'intérieur par la mer Atlantique, par le Mississippi, donne les plus grandes espérances pour l'avenir. Et elle deviendra avec le tems une des plus riches et des plus florissantes qu'il y ait dans le monde.

Les Français canadiens en Louisiane ont constamment conservé leur attachement à la religion catholique au milieu des changements qu'ils ont éprouvés ; mais ils ont dû se ressentir de la privation des prêtres missionnaires lorsque les Anglois ont été leurs maîtres. Sous le règne espagnol l'antipathie du caractère national leur a inspiré peu de confiance dans les prêtres espagnols. Il est vrai que dans ce tems ils ont eu des

Carondelet in 1798. At the end of the canal where it flows into the lake there is a small fort mounted with six large canons. At the mouth of the river on the Louisiana side there is a blockhouse or bastion called Fort Cakre [?] where the pilots are quartered. These must be paid twenty piastres for every half league of pilotage on account of the hindrances to navigation that exist for ten miles from the mouth of the river. The country here is a continuous marsh and is not under cultivation. At the end of this marshy section there is a fort called Placamina equipped with first rate troops and canon. A stop must be made here, as the commandant has to examine the papers of all passing vessels. Beyond the fort the country is entirely different and along the river the settlements are quite close together. It was here that the making of cane sugar, which has formerly been imported from the West Indies, was initiated.⁹⁸ Other colonies and settlements have followed their lead and native sugar has become quite a business generally. Since the Americans purchased Louisiana from the French all branches of trade, as well as the population, have increased largely. The situation of this city within easy reach of Mexico, the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, in close touch with the interior, its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, and the facilities afforded by the Mississippi, gives radiant promise for the future and in time it should become one of the richest and most flourishing cities in the world.⁹⁹

The French Canadians in Louisiana have ever remained firmly attached to the Catholic faith mid the changes they have experienced ; but they must necessarily have felt the effect of being deprived of missionary priests while the English were their masters.¹⁰⁰ During the Spanish régime antipathy to the national character caused them to have little confidence in the Spanish

prêtres français, mais plusieurs intrus qui les ont scandalisés beaucoup sans néanmoins ébranler leur foi ; enfin les américains étant devenus leur maîtres, et l'Évêque ainsi que les prêtres espagnols s'étant retirés, ils se sont adressés à M. l'Évêque de Baltimore autorisé par le Pape à ajouter ce territoire à sa juridiction spirituelle. Il a refusé pendant longtemps à cause de la rareté des prêtres dans le diocèse existant déjà. Comment donc en fournir à cette terre nouvelle ? Mais enfin il s'est laissé fléchir par les instances réitérées qu'on lui a faites. Il voyait ces vastes contrées abandonnées sans retour par les évêques et prêtres espagnols. Les prêtres qui restoient étant privés de pouvoir s'adressoient à lui pour en avoir et il pouvoit les leur donner. Le grand vicaire de l'évêque espagnol pour la Louisiane venoit de mourir et il ne pouvoit être remplacé, s'il n'accordoît à quelque prêtre des lettres de grand vicaire. Il se laissa donc fléchir l'année dernière, ou pour mieux dire cette année, et il accorda à M. Olivier, prêtre français et frère de celui dont nous avons parlé plusieurs fois dans cet écrit, les pouvoirs pour la Louisiane. La chose étoit d'autant plus pressante que le père Antoine, religieux de St Dominique, exerçoit les fonctions du ministère dans la Nouvelle Orléans sans aucun pouvoir ni de l'ancien évêque ni de Mgr Carroll ; il a osé même continuer malgré la défense que lui en a fait M. Olivier au nom de Mgr Carroll, évêque de Baltimore ; mais ce schisme ne dura pas long tems ; plusieurs commencèrent à abandonner ce prêtre rebelle, et l'on doit espérer que dans peu on ne reconnaîtra que les prêtres envoyés par Mgr Carroll. M. Olivier, avant d'être grand vicaire, exerçoit les fonctions du ministère dans la Nouvelle Orléans. M. L'Espinasse aussi, prêtre français, les exerçoit également ; mais le père Antoine avoit cherché à le faire interdire par l'évêque espagnol

priests. It is true that at that time they had French priests, but several of them were intruders who scandalized them badly; but yet without shaking their faith. Finally the Americans became their rulers and, the Bishop and Spanish priests having been withdrawn, they appealed to the Bishop of Baltimore, who had been authorized by the Pope to add this territory to his spiritual jurisdiction. He was unable to do so for some time owing to scarcity of priests in the already existing diocese : how then could he supply priests to this new territory? Finally he agreed as a result of the reiterated demands made upon him. He visioned this vast region hopelessly abandoned by the Spanish bishops and priests, those who remained being without faculties and begging him to grant them without his being able to do so, the Vicar-General of the Spanish Bishop had just died and there was no one to replace him unless he would grant to some priest letters of administration. Last year, or rather this year, he yielded and he granted faculties for Louisiana to Mr. Olivier, a French priest, and brother of the person of whom we have several times spoken in this work. This was all the more urgent, as Father Anthony, a religious of the Dominican [Franciscan] Order, was exercising the ministry at New Orleans without authority from the former Bishop, or from Bishop Carroll, and dared even to continue to do so, notwithstanding the inhibition of Mr. Olivier acting in the name of Mgr. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore.¹⁰¹ But this schism did not last long; several supporters abandoned this insubordinate priest; and it is to be hoped that ere long only priests sent by Bishop Carroll will be recognized. Before his appointment as Vicar-General, Mr. Olivier had already been engaged in pastoral work in New Orleans. Mr. l'Espinasse, another French priest, duty likewise but Father Anthony¹⁰² tried to induce the Spanish Bishop to sus-

par de faux rapports qui lui avoient été faits. Mgr Carroll a reconnu cette fause imputation et a donné ses pouvoirs à M. L'Espinasse qui aidera beaucoup M. Olivier à éteindre cette espèce de schisme et de scandale.

Natchitoches est un district de la Nouvelle-Orléans sur la rivière Rouge. Les français y ont un grand nombre d'établissements et il s'y est formé une ville du même nom. J'ignore s'il y a une église, mais il y a toute apparence qu'il en ont une ou une chapelle. Ce pays est la frontière des possessions espagnoles à 70 lieues du confluent de la rivière Rouge avec le Mississippi.

TERRITOIRE DU MISSISSIPPI

Ce territoire est extrêmement vaste mais tout nouveau et par conséquent peu peuplé ; il a le Tennessee au nord, la Georgie à l'est, la Floride au sud et la Louisiane à l'ouest. Il faisoit autrefois partie de la Georgie ; mais en 1800 il a été établi territoire, et M. Sergeant nommé gouverneur. On y compte 9 à 10,000 habitants, la plupart français, les autres espagnols et américains. Les sauvages y sont en assez grand nombre, savoir les Creeks, les Chésaquis, les Chacteras. On les fait monter tous ensemble à près de quarante mille. Il y a outre cela quatre mille nègres ou esclaves ; d'autres auteurs font monter le total des habitants à 90 mille. Ce pays est arrosé par plusieurs belles rivières et est un des plus fertiles des États Unis. L'état de Georgie vendit au congrès pour trente millions d'arpents de terre de ce territoire mais brûla les registres où étoit couchée la transaction. L'affaire actuellement est pendante devant une Cour de Commissaires nommée par

pend him by means of false reports which he had circulated. Bishop Carroll was aware of these false imputations and granted [Mr. l'Espinasse] faculties. He will be of great assistance to Mr. Olivier in putting an end to this species of schism and scandal.¹⁰⁸

Natchitoches is a district of New Orleans situated on the Red River. The French have quite a number of settlements here and a town of the same name has grown up there. I do not know if there is a church in the place, but there is every reason to believe that there is a chapel at least. This section is the frontier of the Spanish possessions, seventy leagues from the confluence of the Red River and the Mississippi.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY

This territory is of great extent and but newly formed ; consequently it is but sparsely populated. Tennessee lies to the north of it and Georgia to the east, with Florida on the south, and Louisiana on the west. Formerly it was a part of Georgia ; but in 1800 it was established as a territorial government and Mr. Sargent was named governor. It has a population estimated from 9 to 10,000 inhabitants, most of them French, the rest Spaniards and Americans. There are quite a number of Indians there, namely, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws. They number about 40,000. In addition there are 4,000 negroes or slaves. Other authors estimate the total population at 90,000. This country is watered by several beautiful rivers and it is one of the most fertile sections of the United States. The State of Georgia sold 30,000,000 acres of land in this territory to Congress but burnt the registers in

le congrès et l'on doit présumer que les États Unis gagneront facilement une si juste cause. On a pratiqué nouvellement des routes dans ce territoire, une pour aller de Natchez à la Nouvelle Orléans, et une autre pour aller par terre de Natchez à Washington city.

Natchez est la capitale de ce territoire ; c'est une ancienne ville qui prend son nom de la nation des sauvages appelés Natchez. Elle est sur la rivière du Mississippi et a une église catholique assez belle et bien ornée, avec un presbytère et une nombreuse congrégation. M. Boutin, prêtre français européen, en est le pasteur depuis long tems. Il y a d'autres catholiques répandus dans les différents établissements que le zèle du pasteur réunit dans certains lieux ou chapelles pour leur donner les secours, les instructions, les sacrements et les autres consolations de la religion.

Nous avons oublié en l'article de la Nouvelle Orléans le couvent des Ursulines qui ont une école très nombreuse de filles et jouissent depuis longues années de l'estime et de la vénération publique même auprès des américains non-catholiques, et c'est par là que nous terminerons cet ouvrage que nous ne pouvons appeller une histoire ni un essai historique de la Religion Catholique dans les États Unis, mais qui donnera un état de la religion Catholique dans les États Unis propre à nous faire bénir la Providence de Dieu dans les grâces sans nombre qu'il a versées dans ce pays depuis un certain nombre d'années et à faire naître de plus grandes espérances pour un prochain avenir pour la propagation de la vraie foi et à l'extension de la véritable Eglise qui est le Royaume de J.-C. sur la terre.

which the transaction was recorded. At the moment the matter is under investigation by a Court of Commissioners named by Congress, and we may presume that the United States will win such a just case. Recently highways have been cut through the territory, one leading from Natchez to New Orleans, the other to afford a land route to the City of Washington.

Natchez is the capital of this territory. It is an old city and gets its name from the Indian tribe, the Natchez. It is situated on the Mississippi River and it has a very fine and nicely decorated Catholic church with a presbytery and a very large congregation. Mr. Boutin, a European French priest has been pastor of it for a long time. There are other Catholics scattered in different settlements which the pastor's zealous efforts bring together in certain places, or chapels, to afford them such religious helps as instructions, the sacraments and the other consolations of the faith.¹⁰⁴

We forgot in our chapter on New Orleans the Convent of the Ursulines who have a very largely attended school for girls and who for many years have enjoyed the respect and the veneration of the public, even of non-Catholic Americans.¹⁰⁵ With this we will conclude this work which we cannot call a history or an historical essay on the Catholic religion in the United States. It will, however, give an account of the Catholic religion in the United States calculated to cause us bless God's providence for the innumerable graces He has showered upon this country for so many years and awaken the hope that in the near future greater things may be done for the propagation of the true faith and the extension of the true church which is the Kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth.

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VI

PERIODICALS AND REVIEWS

The *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, D. C. which contains the following articles "Diocesan Organisation in the Spanish Colonies", (Ryan), vol. V : "A Centennial of the Church in St. Louis" (Souvay) vol. IV; "The Gallipolis Colony" (Kenny, S. J.), vol. IV; "The Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the New Republic" (Guilday),

vol. VI.— *The Catholic World*, New York, article “ The Apostle of the Alleghanies ”, (Hart), April 1905.— *The American Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, articles : “ The Early Jesuit Missionaries and their Traducers ”, January, 1903 ; “ The Romance of the Country of the Lakes and the Apostles of Literature in Detroit ”, January, 1893; and “ The Recollects at Detroit in the Eighteenth Century ”, October, 1898 (Elliot, Richard). — *The Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, article: “ The Old Church at Cahokia ” (Hynes), vol. I No. 4.— *The Revue de Paris*, mai 15, 1898.— *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. VIII.— *The United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. III.— *The Baltimore Mirror*, February and March, 1907.— *The Catholic Mind*, New York, vol. XVIII, No. 8.— *The Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, vols. XXV and XXIX.

NOTES

Note 1 (p. 1). The author's knowledge of the early history of America does not appear to be extensive or accurate. Newfoundland was discovered, not by Sebastian Cabot, but by his father, John Cabot, who, it is claimed, made a "landfall" at Cape Bonavista on June 24, 1497. This is vouched for by an entry in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII :

"August 10th, 1497 — To hym that found the new isle
l. 10."

In the following year Bristol and London merchants fitted out ships to trade with Newfoundland, and the king furnished funds for the expedition. Among the entries found in the list of his expenses we find :

"to Lanslot Thirkill, of London, upon a prest for his
ship going towards the new llande, 22nd of March 1498,
l. 20,

This entry indicates that a priest was sent to Newfoundland presumably as chaplain to the expedition. **PROWSE**, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, p. 12. London, 1895.

The earliest patent for the colonization of Newfoundland was granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a half brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. It embraced not only the present Dominion of Newfoundland, but also a large part of Nova Scotia, Labrador and possibly New Brunswick. Gilbert took possession of St. John's in the name of Queen Elizabeth on August 5, 1583. See **BIRKENHEAD**, *The Story of Newfoundland*, p. 56. London, 1920 ; and **HAKLUYT**, *Principal Navigations*, ed. 1904 vol. I, p. 262. London.

NOTE 2 (p. 2). The name Virginia did not originate with Raleigh. It was given by Queen Elizabeth to the region explored by Amadas and Barlowe in 1584.

The history of Virginia properly begins with the grant of James I (April 10, 1606) to the London and the Plymouth Company "the Plymouth Company, to make settlement somewhere between the 38th and 45th degrees of north latitude ; the London Company, to

colonize somewhere between the 34th and 41st degrees. For the government of either settlement, under this charter, it was provided that there should be a royal council in England and a local council to sit in the colony. . . . The London Company, in which Bartholomew Gosnold appears as an active promoter, in December 1606, sent 120 emigrants, who arrived at Chesapeake Bay on May 3, 1507, selected a peninsula on the James River for their settlement, which they called Jamestown." (HART, *Essentials in American History*, pp. 46-47. New York, 1905).

Compare NEILL, *History of the Virginia Company*. Albany, 1889; FISKE, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbor*. 2 vols. Boston, 1900; DAVIS, *The Day Star of American Freedom*. New York, 1855; DOYLE, *The English in Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas*. London, 1882.

NOTE 3 (p. 2). Canada was discovered by Cartier in 1534. He was accompanied by two chaplains, Fathers Guillaume le Beeton and Antoine. "Mass was said for the first time in New France, at the harbor of Brest, now Old Fort, on the coast of Labrador, on the 11th of June (Feast of St. Barnabas, Apostle, 1534)..... It is more than probable that Cartier having spent ten days at Catalina (en Trinity Bay, Newfoundland) before visiting Labrador, Mass was celebrated there, and if so, it would be the first time and place in which the Holy Sacrifice was offered in Newfoundland, or in all North America, as far as we have any authentic record." (HOWLEY, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, p. 72. Boston, 1887.) See BROWN, *Where the Fishers Go: The Story of Labrador*, pp. 4-10. New York, 1910.

The French colonization of North America began with De Monte's settlement on the Bay of Fundy in 1604; but the efforts to develop settlements were stopped by the Anglo-Virginian governor, Samuel Argall, who raided the French territory and burned the establishments. The actual founder of New France, Canada, was Samuel de Champlain, who founded Quebec on July 3, 1608. PARKMAN, in *Pioneers of France in the New World*, says of the foundation of New France: "It was founded with two heads, one in Louisiana and the other in the snows of Canada." Canada was lost to France in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759, and it was formally ceded to England on February 16, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris. See TAYLOR, *Cardinal Facts of Canadian History*, pp. 12, 13, 70, 72. Toronto, 1889; FERLAND, *Histoire du Canada*, 2 vols. Québec, 1885; DOUGHTY, *The Cradle of New France*. Montreal, 1908.

The authentic history of Louisiana begins with the year 1682, when Robert Cavalier de la Salle descended the Mississippi and took possession of the entire valley in the name of Louis XIV in whose honor he

named the region Louisiana. La Salle's attempt to establish a colony in Louisiana ended in disaster and his own death, but in 1698 a second venture was made by Pierre le Moynes, Sieur d'Iberville, under the auspices of the Comte de Ponchartrain. He built a fort at Biloxi and another on the Mississippi about forty miles above its mouth.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) left the English undisputed masters of all the territory between the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River, Hudson Bay, and the Atlantic Ocean. The English Government by Royal proclamation (October 6, 1763) erected four new provinces, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Granada, and extended Georgia to St. Mary's River. From 1689 to 1763 the international history of America is the history of the downfall of the French colonial power. In early days France had possession of Acadie, Isle Royale and the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It also claimed a portion of Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, the Colony of Louisiana and asserted title to the whole of the Mississippi Valley, though occupied only a narrow fringe of the Gulf Coast settlements and settled its along the river. See HART, *Essentials in American History*, p. 133; and compare MAGNAN, *Histoire de la race française aux États-Unis*, Paris, 1904; FORTIER, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols., New York, 1904; and GAYARRÉ, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 2 vols., New Orleans, 1856.

NOTE 4 (p. 2). This paragraph is historically inaccurate. There were two distinct foundations in the second English colony in America, though they subsequently became united in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The allusion to the arrival of women folk in the colonies applies to Virginia where there were no women at the beginning of the colony. When they were sent over from England they were bought for a specified amount of tobacco. The first foundation in what later became New England was made by a body of Puritan "Separatists" or Independents, better known under the designation of "Pilgrims." They had gone as exiles to Holland; but their English friends lent them some five thousand pounds and they secured a grant of land within the boundaries of the second charter of the London Company. The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Bay December 11, 1620. The Plymouth Colony never had a charter, and remained practically an independent republic. The second foundation was made under a charter, issued in 1629, to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, covering the tract between a line three miles north of the Merrimac, and a line three miles south of Massachusetts Bay and the Charles River, and reaching westward to the Pacific Ocean. In 1630 a thousand people crossed to Massachusetts, and set up a government by electing John Winthrop governor. The Colony, led by men like Winthrop, sternly repressed people who differed from

the established religion [Congregationalism], or too much criticized the clergy. (HART, *op. cit.*, p. 55)

Pressure from without and confusion within caused these settlements to unite in a colonial union known as "The United Colonies of New England", whose chief characteristic, though designated "church fellowship", seems to have been intolerance of the most rigid kind. "Within twenty years after the Puritan Fathers had settled themselves in this land of the Indian, they unsettled the Indian whom they found within their borders; and in keeping with this unchristian policy; John Endicott defaced the Christian Cross in the military ensign, while John Eliot, 'the Apostle', was similarly engaged with the Popish Cross in the minds of such Indians as came near. In a war with the Pequot natives (1637), Massachusetts and Connecticut divided captives. Male children were sent to the Bermudas; women and girls were disposed of in the towns. About seven hundred aborigines had been taken or slain." (HUGHES, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Colonial and Federal Text, vol. I, p. 381, New York, 1907),

Their attitude toward those who differed from them may be inferred from their treatment of the Quakers for whose punishment Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth passed the most severe laws. "In 1660 four of them were executed in Boston; and this rigor so shocked the sense of the community that a new law was passed abolishing the death penalty against the Quakers, but still banishing them. The Quaker episode is a proof that the good and pure principles of the Puritans did not keep them from tyranny and stupid cruelty." (HART, *op. cit.*, p. 63)

NOTE 5 (p. 2). Maryland was not named in honor of Mary Tudor. She had been dead sixty-six years before the date of the Baltimore grant. It received its name from Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, and daughter of Henry IV of France. Baltimore, before colonizing Maryland, had attempted to found a colony on the southern peninsula of Newfoundland. He returned to England and obtained from Charles I a charter for the establishment of a colony bounded by the "40th degree" on the north, on the east by Delaware Bay and the ocean, on the south by the Potomac, and on the west by a meridian drawn from the source of the Potomac. The charter was of a new type, for both the land and the powers of government were transferred to Baltimore as a "Proprietary." By its terms Christianity was made the law of Maryland.

NOTE 6 (p. 3). The reader is referred to the Introduction where it is stated that the author has a tendency to make statements without having exact knowledge of conditions. Racial prepossessions seem to have obscured his judgment.

The ecclesiastical history of Louisiana begins May 1, 1698, when Bishop St. Vallier authorized the Seminary of Quebec to establish missions in the west. This authorization was conferred by letters patent on July 14, and endorsed by Frontenac, Governor of New France, on July 17, 1698. (*Archives de l'Evêché de Québec*, Registre A. 1698)

In December of that year three missionaries of the Seminary, Jacques de Montigny, Antoine Davions, and Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme reached the Mississippi, and sailed down stream to the villages of the Arkansas, Tonicas, and Tacusas, planting crosses at several points. De Montigny took up his residence among the Tacusas, Davions near the Tonica village where now stands Fort Adams in the State of Missouri, and St. Cosme returned to the country of the Tamarois. (TASCHEREAU, *Missions du Séminaire de Québec*, Ms. 1849. Archives du Séminaire de Québec). Compare DE LA POTHEBIE, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, t. I., p. 238. Paris, 1722.

In the following year the Seminary sent out three more priests, Fathers Bergier, Bouteville, and St. Cosme, jr. De Montigny had meanwhile left the mission and gone to France with a view to the settlement of difficulties with the Jesuits who had labored in the field before it had been given over to the Seminary by the Bishop of Quebec. In 1700 d'Iberville brought with him from France the Jesuit Father du Rhu, who labored among the Indians around Biloxi and Mobile. The French residents were under the care of the priests of the Seminary. Serious difficulties arose between those priests and the Jesuits. The case was appealed to the King of France, who referred it to a commission comprising the Bishops of Marseilles and Chartres. The decision was rendered in favor of the priests of the Seminary sent by Bishop St. Vallier. (See HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, p. 257 note; and MARGRY, *Etablissements et Découvertes*, E, p. 450).

The Jesuits were consequently recalled to France by their superior; and the priests of the Seminary continued to labor in the field. One of them, Nicholas Foucault, was massacred by the Arkansas on August 22, 1702, and another, the younger St. Cosme, was butchered by the Seminole in 1706. A parish was erected at Mobile by Bishop St. Vallier July 20, 1703, with Rev. Henry Rouleaux de la Vente, a priest of the Diocese of Bayeux, France, as curé, and Rev. Alexander Huvé as assistant. The first entry in the ancient Register of Mobile records the baptism of an Apalachee girl by Rev. Mr. Davions, on September 6, 1704. (SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 547. New York, 1886).

The missions did not make much progress. The only large settlement established by the Seminary priests was the Mission of Cahokia, in the Tamarois country.

In 1715, or 16, the Paris Seminary of the Foreign Missions, of which the Seminary of Quebec was an offshoot, sent out as Superior of the Mississippi Valley the Rev. Dominic Varley ; and in 1717 Bishop St. Vallier appointed him Vicar-General for Fort Mobile. or Fort Louis. with jurisdiction over all priests secular and regular, except the Jesuits, who were subject to their own Superior (*Archives de l'Evêché de Québec, Régistre C. p. 112*).

Varley remained there for some years. In 1718 he was appointed Bishop of Ascalon, and received episcopal consecration ; but it was soon discovered that he was an active adherent of Jansenism, whereupon he was recalled by the Holy See. He subsequently took an active part in establishing the Jansenist Church at Utrecht, Holland. He died near that city in 1742, after having been excommunicated.

In 1717 the Duke of Orleans (after whom the city of New Orleans was named) transferred Louisiana to the *Compagnie d'Occident*, of which the financial gambler, John Law, was the ruling spirit. One of the clauses of the charter of the company was that it should provide and maintain a number of priests to attend the missions, all of whom should be subject, as formerly, to the Bishop of Quebec. The *Compagnie d'Occident* ended disastrously and brought great suffering to Louisiana (GAYARRÉ, *Essai Historique sur la Louisiane*, p. 97. New Orleans, 1830).

In the interim the Bishop of Quebec had received as coadjutor the Capuchin, Louis de Mornay, and appointed him Vicar-General of Louisiana ; but Bishop de Mornay never crossed the ocean. It seems that Bishop St. Vallier had no part in this nomination (GOSSELIN, *L'Eglise du Canada*, p. 3. Québec, 1912, and *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. IX, p. 259).

Notwithstanding repeated requests from Bishop St. Vallier, his coadjutor declined to come to Louisiana (TÉTU, *Les Evêques de Québec*, p. 157, Québec, 1898).

As Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Mornay sent some religious of his own order, named their superior Vicar-General, and governed as best he could from Paris the infant church of Louisiana. (GOSSELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

As the Capuchins were unable to supply priests for the various needs of the province they called the Jesuits to their assistance, as they had done a century before in Quebec, and Father Beaubois, the Superior, secured a residence in New Orleans. Under Father Beaubois' direction the Ursulines came to New Orleans in 1727. Shortly afterward difficulties arose between the Jesuits and the *Compagnie d'Occident*. Father Beaubois left the colony, but returned in 1732, after the charter of the *Compagnie d'Occident* had reverted to the Crown. Later there were other difficulties, of the nature of which we know nothing, says De

ROCHEMONTEIX (*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII^e siècle*, t. I, p. 318), and Father Raphael, the Capuchin Vicar-General, withdrew Father Beaubois' faculties. They were restored to him on condition that Father Beaubois leave the colony.

In 1739 Bishop Pontbriand, of Quebec, appointed Father Peter Vitry, another Jesuit, his Vicar-General; but the difficulties continued between the Capuchins and the Jesuits (*Archives de l'Evêché de Québec*, Reg. C. p. 224).

The Seminary of Quebec continued to send priests to the Louisiana missions until 1754.

In 1763 the Superior Council of Louisiana suppressed the Jesuits and confiscated their property. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) Louisiana ceased to be a French province and became a province of Spain. Ecclesiastically, Louisiana passed from the jurisdiction of Quebec to that of Santiago de Cuba. In 1772 four Spanish Capuchins, with Father Cyril de Barcelona as their Superior, were sent by Bishop de Echeverria to New Orleans. They were not very well received by their French brethren, of whom Father Dagobert was the Superior. Shea, discussing this subject, says: "The Capuchins who had long thrown off all allegiance to bishop or superior, led lives that were a public scandal... Few men approached the sacraments even at Easter; debauchery prevailed; the baptism of children was long deferred, and performed with little regard to the ritual; negroes were not instructed, and did not receive the sacraments even when dying. Sermons to adults and instructions for the young were equally unknown. Yet Father Dagobert had the effrontery to write to the Bishop, making great profession of piety and zeal; asking to be appointed Vicar-General." (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 543-4. New York, 1886).

Moreover the people had been filled with prejudices against the Spanish clergy and espoused the cause of Dagobert. The Bishop of Santiago was grieved at this condition of affairs and requested the King of Spain to suggest to the Holy See the appointment of an auxiliary. The Holy See favored this plan and appointed Father Cyril of Barcelona, Bishop of Tricoli and Auxiliary of Santiago de Cuba, with residence in New Orleans. He was consecrated in 1781. On November 25, 1785, Bishop Cyril appointed as parish priest of New Orleans Father Antonio Sedella, "who was destined to become the scourge of religion in Louisiana." (GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, p. 271. New York, 1854).

About this time the French population of Louisiana was augmented by another contingent of Acadian refugees (the first group, numbering 93 people, had arrived in February, 1765, and 463 later in the same year). These unfortunates had been expelled from Nova Scotia by the English

Governor Lawrence and wandered for years till they found homes in Maryland and Louisiana. Compare RICHARD, *Acadie, Reconstitution d'un Chapitre Perdu de l'Histoire d'Amérique*, corrigé par Henri d'Arles, 2 vols. Quebec and Boston, 1916; and CASGRAIN, *Un Pèlerinage au Pays d'Évangéline*, Quebec, 1887.

In 1789 the Holy See, at the instance of the Council of the Indies, presided over by the King of Spain, divided the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba and erected the new Bishopric of St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana and the Floridas. The Right Rev. Joseph Trespalacios, then Bishop of Porto Rico, became the first Bishop of the new diocese, and Cyril de Barcelona became his auxiliary, charged with the continental portion of the diocese — the Floridas and Louisiana, with residence at New Orleans (GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 152, Ratisbon, 1873).

Bishop Cyril did not meet with much success in his administration and he was banished from Louisiana. Cf. O'GORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Religion made little progress under such distressing conditions, and in April 1793, Pius VI made Louisiana an independent see, with the Right Rev. Louis Penalver y Cardenas its first incumbent. Soon after taking possession of the see he issued a *Relation* which is very sad reading. The *Relation* may be read in GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, page 376. New York, 1854.

Bishop Penalver, however, was hampered in his administration by officialism, and effected little in the way of reforms. In July, 1801, he was appointed Archbishop of Guatemala. (GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 174, Ratisbon, 1873).

Before leaving the Diocese of Louisiana he had named the Rev. Thomas Hassett and the Rev. Patrick Walsh Vicars-General, being so authorized by a rescript issued at Rome September 14, 1794. A Bishop was appointed to fill the vacant see in the person of Father Francis Porro y Peinada, a Franciscan of the Convent degli Apostoli at Rome, but events were pending which indicated that Spain was about to relinquish the sovereignty of Louisiana, and Bishop Peinada did not take possession of the see. He was transferred to the see of Tarazona. See SPALDING, *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget*. Louisville, 1852.

Spain retroceded Louisiana to France by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1, 1800. This was confirmed by the Treaty of Madrid, March 21, 1801; but before the official transfer had been made, negotiations were entered into between Napoleon I and the United States whereby Louisiana was to be transferred to the United States for the sum of \$15,000,000. The province was ceded to France by Spain on November 30, 1803, and twenty days later (December 20, 1803)

Louisiana was transferred to the American commissioners, Wilkinson and Clairborne, by the French representative, Loussat.

The French population were chagrined over the transfer ; but Congress salved their regret by granting them a territorial government, with an elective legislature, in March, 1805. (HART, *op. cit.* p. 267).

Following the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, the Administrator of the Diocese, Rev. Thomas Hassett, issued a circular to the priests in order to ascertain how many of them wished to retire with the Spanish forces, and seven decided to remain within the Spanish jurisdiction. Father Hassett died in April, 1804, and his fellow-administrator, Rev. Patrick Walsh, became the official representative of the Diocese of Louisiana. His authority, however, was questioned by Sedella, and serious difficulties ensued. By a decree of the Propaganda, Sept 1, 1805, Bishop Carroll became Apostolic Administrator of Louisiana, and after the death of Father Walsh, appointed the Rev. John Olivier Vicar-General. Sedella refused to recognize his authority, and he was abetted in his rebellious attitude by Cantillon, president of the so-called Board of *Marquilliers*.

In dealing with the question of Spanish domination in Louisiana, it must be clearly understood that the Spanish Government exercised great power which at times was abused. We must keep in mind that "from the thirteenth century onwards through usurpation, through custom, and finally through explicit papal recognition, the Spanish Sovereigns had obtained an enormous power over the Church in their dominions, a power that came dangerously near to making the Church of Spain independent of Rome." (RYAN, "Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. V, pp. 3-18)., Compare LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, vol. I, p. 383 ; and PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, vol. IV, p. 397. London, 1891

Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century the Spanish Sovereigns were able to secure from the Papacy official confirmation of their powers over the Church and obtain control in spiritual affairs. To this must be ascribed the singular situation existing in Louisiana. In confirmation of this statement we have the following data :

(a) In 1482, Pope Sixtus IV agreed to nominate to Castilian bishoprics only natives acceptable to the Sovereigns.

(b) In 1484, Pope Innocent VII, granted to Ferdinand the patronage of all churches (*jus patronatus*) and convents in Granada and all the territories that had been or would be conquered by the Moors.

(c) In 1493, Pope Alexander VI entrusted to the Sovereign of Castile the selection of the missionaries for the colonies across the sea.

(d) In 1494, Pope Alexander VI conferred on Ferdinand and Isabella the title "Catholic" and granted them two-ninths of the tithes throughout the dominions of Castile.

(e) In 1509, Pope Alexander, granted them all tithes in all the colonies.

(f) In 1508, Pope Julius, granted to Ferdinand and to Johanna the right of appointing to all benefices in the colonies, without any exception. The Holy See reserving the right of approving these appointments, but such approval seems to have followed as a matter of course. (Ryan, in *Catholic Historical Review*, loc. cit.)

In consequence of the authority wielded by the Spanish Sovereigns governing the colonies, usually through the Company of the Indies, "without royal assent no ecclesiastical official could be appointed, not even a sacristan; none might enter into the colonies, or leave them; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered, and no school or convent be erected. For all practical purposes the King was, as a Spanish historian calls him, the 'Vicar of the Pope'". SOLOZANO Y PELAYO, *Política Indiana*, t. II, book IV, cited. by RYAN, loc. cit. in *Catholic Historical Review*.

NOTE 7 (p. 4). Maryland had not reached its tenth year of existence as a colony when Claiborne, the evil genius of Virginia, fomented disturbance among the Puritans whom Baltimore had invited to Maryland. Claiborne invaded Maryland, drove out the Governor, looted the plantations, and expelled the Jesuits. Then came a short period of peace; but in 1651 we find evidence of disaffection on the part of the Puritans. They refused to send deputies to the Assembly, and "scrupled to burden their consciences with the oaths of fidelity to a Popish Proprietor."

Maryland was invaded by Claiborne, and Bennett deprived Stone, the Governor, of his commission, and entrusted the administration of the Colony to a Board of Ten Commissioners. An Assembly composed exclusively of Protestants was convened, and, in 1654, passed an "Act Concerning Religion" which set forth: "It is hereby enacted and declared that none who profess and exercise the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion can be protected in this province, but to be restrained from the exercise thereof." (RUSSELL, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 229. Baltimore, 1907).

In July, 1696, another "Act of Religion" was passed declaring that all the laws of England are in full force in Maryland, and making the Episcopal Vestry a corporation entitling it to hold lands and property. By the same Act all marriages, births, baptisms and burials (except negroes) must be recorded by the Registrar of the Vestry, who was entitled to a fee for registration and another for the certificate, and if one

delayed to have these formalities complied with he was subject to a fine of 50 pounds of tobacco. The Act further set forth: "If any minister, priest, or magistrate shall join in marriage any persons to the table of marriages (as is established by the Church of England), he or they shall forfeit the sum of 5,000 pounds of tobacco, and the parties so married shall pay the like sum." (RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 369). Compare SCHARF, *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. Baltimore, 1879; STREETER, *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago*. Baltimore, 1852; McSHERRY, *History of Maryland*. Baltimore, 1848.

Other penal laws were enacted in 1700-1701; but they did not obtain the royal assent. In 1702 a law was passed establishing the Church of England; and so it remained until the Revolution (HAWKS, *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland*. New York, 1839).

These persecutions were mild compared with those enacted during the administration of Governor Seymour (1704-1709).

By an Act of September 1704 Catholics were debarred from educating their children, or of practicing their religion; priests were forbidden to exercise their office, and children were encouraged to rebellion against parental authority. Compare *Archives*, *ibid.*, pp. 431-2, Maryland, XXVI, pp. 340-1, in the Jenkins Collection, Catholic University of America.

Queen Anne mitigated the severity of these laws by an enactment (Dec. 1704) allowing Catholic priests to officiate in private families. This gave rise to the custom of having a chapel annexed to a private dwelling—an example of which still exists at Doughoregan Manor, Baltimore, Howard County.

NOTE 8 (p. 4). Here it is necessary again to revert to what has been stated in the Introduction regarding Dilhet's attitude toward certain priests, especially those of German and Irish nationality.

While it is true that priests like Goetz, Smith, and others were guilty of unbecoming acts, yet, the great majority of the early German and Irish priests were neither ignorant nor unworthy. We quote from an historian whose knowledge of the section alluded to cannot be questioned:

Turning to the priests who came across the water in early days to minister to the scattered Catholic settlements in our state, and in the east generally, they were for the most part Irish and German; not a few of whom were members of religious orders, some coming over with permission of their ecclesiastical superiors, more on account of the dissolution of their monasteries or the disturbed state of political Europe and others from a roving disposition, for which the disquietude of the Old World offered some kind of palliation, if they were at the trouble of looking for one. As was naturally to be

expected these latter frequently gave serious trouble and disedification ; although affairs, as a rule, righted themselves in the end. But the Church in this country must feel ever grateful to both the Irish and German clergy, and to those of other nationalities also, for the truly apostolic zeal which urged them to come to the relief of our forefathers, and enter upon the self-sacrificing and laborious work of the American mission. And their successors are nobly continuing their work side by side with our native clergy. (LAMBING, *Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese*, p. 64. Wilkinsburg, 1914)

NOTE 9 (p. 5). Seven, or perhaps eight, Jesuits were in Maryland between the years 1533 and 1635. " There was the first band consisting of Father Andrew White, Father John Gravener or Altham, and Brother Gervase. There went out also Father Alexander Baker and Father John Drury, who accompanied a certain gentleman (*cuidam viro nobili*), and then returned after voyaging for eight months. Then there were Father Francis Rogers and Brother John Wood, who came back to England within about two years after the establishment of the colony. There is an eighth, named Father Timothy Hays, whose place seems to have been taken immediately by Father Gravener." (HUGHES, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal*, Text. vol. I, p. 269. New York, 1907).

Difficulties arose between the Jesuits and John Lewger, " who represented in a manifold capacity Cecil Lord Baltimore. " Lewger is accused of Erastianism by HUGHES (*op. cit.*, p. 352).

We will not enter into the details of the controversy waged between Baltimore and the Jesuits. These are set forth in HUGHES.

As a result of the difficulties, Lord Baltimore asked the Propaganda to establish a mission in Maryland, and give faculties to a Prefect and secular priests. The Sacred Congregation acted accordingly and in August 1641 issued faculties which were transmitted to Father Rosetti, afterwards Archbishop of Tarsus. The Jesuits objected, and sent a memorial to the Holy See. In the interim two secular priests arrived in Maryland. Later there was a reconciliation between the Jesuits and the Proprietary. Then came another invasion of the province by Claiborne and Ingle ; and the Catholic gentry and the missionaries were the chief object of their onslaught. The first period of the Jesuit mission in Maryland ended sadly. In 1648 the Jesuits again resumed their missionary activities there ; but they were to experience hardship and privations similar to those which their predecessors had suffered,

NOTE 10 (p. 5). As regards the American Constitution and the liberties granted to Catholics, the following quotation is interesting :

In order to prove that Catholics in the United States owe the enjoyment of civil and political rights to happy circumstances, and not to the generosity of the Federal Constitution, we have been at some pains to draw up the following table, which gives the period when the several States ceased to admit the exclusive eligibility of Protestants. . . . In the following list, the States marked * were colonized by France or Spain, and the free exercise of the Catholic religion is guaranteed by treaty.

United States.— Founded 1776 — Constitution 1787 — The Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the Articles of Confederation in 1778. The Constitution of 1787 merely provides that no religious test shall be required from any officer of the Federal Government, and the first amendment ratified in 1791 says : ' Congress shall pass no law concerning the establishment of a religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Massachusetts.— Constitution 1779-80 — Liberty of conscience. The legislature may levy a tax to support the Protestant worship, where not voluntarily given. Every one must, to hold office, abjure under oath all obedience to a foreign ecclesiastical power. This oath was modified in 1821.

New Hampshire.— 1776 — Constitution — Liberty of conscience. But the ineligibility of Catholics, established prior to the Revolution by Royal Charter, has still the force of law.

Rhode Island.— 1776 — Charter 1663, and Constitution 1842, grant full liberty of conscience without any test. Penal laws repealed in 1778.

Connecticut.— 1776 — Constitution 1818 — Liberty of conscience. No restriction as to Catholics.

New York.— 1776 — Constitution 1777 — Liberty of conscience. But foreigners, to be naturalized, must abjure foreign alliances, temporal and spiritual. A test oath was also passed and remained in force until 1806.

New Jersey.— 1776 — Constitution 1776 — Liberty of conscience. No Protestant inhabitant shall be deprived of his civil and political rights. The new Constitution in 1844 suppressed this clause.

Delaware.— 1776 — Constitution 1790 — 1831 — Liberty of Conscience. No test.

Pennsylvania.— 1776 — Constitution 1790 — Liberty of conscience. No man who believes in God and a future state of reward and punishment shall be excluded from office.

Maryland.— 1776 — Constitution 1776 — No test, except a declaration of belief in the Christian religion. Everyone professing the Christian religion shall be free to practise it.

Virginia.— 1776 — Constitution 1776 — Liberty of conscience. No test.

North Carolina.— 1776 — Constitution 1776. Every man who shall deny the existence of God, or the truths of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of the Old or New Tes-

tament, shall not hold office in the State. The Constitution of 1835 substituted *Christian* for *Protestant*.

South Carolina.— 1776 — Constitution 1790. Free exercise of the religion to all mankind.

Georgia.— 1776 — Constitution 1798 — Liberty of conscience. No person shall be molested in his civil rights purely for religious principles.

Vermont.— 1791 — Constitution 1798. No test. Every sect bound to keep the Sabbath and have some worship.

Tennessee.— 1796 — Constitution 1796. No man can hold office that denies the existence of God or of a future state of rewards and punishment.

Kentucky.— Constitution 1799 — Liberty of conscience. No test.

Ohio.— 1802 — Constitution 1802. Liberty of conscience. No test.

* *Louisiana*.— 1812 — Constitution 1812. No article on religion. Clergymen excluded from office.

* *Indiana*.— 1816.

* *Mississippi*.— 1817.

* *Illinois*.— 1818.

* *Alabama*.— 1820.

* *Maine*.— 1820.

* *Missouri*.— 1821 — Constitution 1820.

* *Arkansas*.— 1836.

* *Michigan*.— 1836.

* *Florida*.— 1845 — Constitution 1838.

* *Texas*.— 1845.

* *Iowa*.— 1846.

* *Wisconsin*.— 1848.

* *California*.— 1849.

Liberty of conscience. No test. (DE COURCY, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, trans. Shea, pp. 45-46. New York, 1865.)

NOTE 11 (p. 6). This paragraph opens a difficult chapter in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. From 1634 (when Maryland was founded) down to the issuance of the Decree *Alias in particulari* by Innocent XII, there is no evidence of the existence of canonical rights over the colonies exercised by the Ecclesiastical Superior in England. In 1715, it was admitted by the Maryland clergy that they were uncertain whether they were under London or Quebec. But with few exceptions, and those doubtful in their nature, the real assumption of jurisdiction by the London Vicar-Apostolic is synchronous with Challoner's attempt, in 1763, to rid the Church of England of the burden of ruling the Church on the mainland and in the islands of North America by creating a separate Vicariate-Apostolic in English America. The Holy See was not certain that the Catholics there could support their own Chief Shepherd, and the problem of erecting the Colonial Church was further complicated by two factors; the evident antagonism on

the part of the Colonial Catholics to the appointment of a Bishop over them (1765), and the suppression of the Jesuits in America (1773). It was not until a decade later, when Challoner's successor, Bishop James Talbot, refused to exercise jurisdiction in the matter of giving faculties to two American priests then in England (1783), that the Holy See decided to take action. (GUILDAY, "The Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect Apostolic of the New Republic," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. VI, p. 204). Compare HUGHES, *op. cit.* Text, vol. II, pp. 81-83, 85, 87, 127, 135 : and BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, vol. II, pp. 123, 148. London, 1907.

On June 19, 1784, Antonelli, Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda advised Bishop Talbot that the Church of the United States was free and independent of English rule. (DEVITT, in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. XXI, pp. 617-637.)

The clergy and the faithful in the colonies, however, were not apathetic during the war. When the suppression of the Society of Jesus was announced by Bishop Challoner in October, 1773, the acting Superior, Father John Lewis, Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic, continued to be recognized by the clergy — without exception, all ex-Jesuits — as their legitimate head. After Yorktown (1781), there could have been no question of appealing to Bishop John Talbot, brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury for guidance ; and once the final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was signed on September 25, 1783, the line of cleavage was complete.

The Holy See nominated Father John Carroll Prefect-Apostolic by a Brief dated Rome, June 9 1784, and the news of his appointment was received from several sources. Following the notification of his appointment Carroll presented to his brethren assembled at Whitmarsh, on October 11, 1784, a letter from Father Thorpe, the American ecclesiastical agent in Rome, announcing the appointment, the nature of the faculties imparted by Propaganda, particularly the power of administering Confirmation, and stating that as soon as the necessary information of the state of the Church in America reached Propaganda, the Holy See would promote him to the dignity and character of a Bishop. The Chapter at Whitmarsh passed three important resolutions based upon the decision that a Superior in *spiritualibus* was adequate "to the present exigencies of the country" : (1) "that a Bishop was unnecessary ; (2) that if one be sent (i. e. not elected by themselves), he could not be supported from the clergy estates ; (3) that a Committee of Three (Fathers Diderich, Matthew^s, and Mosley) be empowered to send a *Memorial* to Rome against the appointment of a Bishop." (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. II, p. 633).

In this connection, the following letter of Father Farmer, another Jesuit, is valuable :

I cannot conceive how we could be a body without a Bishop for a head. We may have a voluntary union among ourselves, I allow, but it cannot constitute us a canonical body of clergy, unless declared and appointed as such either by the Supreme Pastor, or rather by a Bishop set over us by him. Our association, even in *temporalibus*, I am afraid, will be looked upon rather as a combination. (CAMPBELL, in *United States Catholic Magazine*, III, p. 800).

The following document regarding Franklin's connection with Bishop Carroll's appointment sheds additional light on this subject :

The Pope's Nuncio (Doria Pamphili), called and acquainted me that the Pope, on my recommendation, had appointed Mr. John Carroll Superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many of the powers of a bishop, and that probably he would be made a bishop in *partibus* before the end of the year. He asked me which would be the most convenient for him — to come to France, or to go to St. Domingo, for ordination by another bishop, which was necessary. I mentioned Quebec as more convenient than either. He asked me whether, as that was an English province, our government might not take offense at his going thither. I thought not, unless ordination by that bishop should give some authority over our bishop. He said ; not in the least ; that when our bishop was once ordained, he would be independent of the other, and even of the Pope, which I did not clearly understand. (SPARKS, *Life and Times of Franklin*, i. p. 58, cited by CAMPBELL in *United States Catholic Magazine*, l. c.)

DeCourcy says of this: "Franklin communicated to Congress the projects of the Court of Rome, and received an answer to the effect that the Federal Government had no opinion to express on the question. Religious affairs were under the control of the several states. This was, at least, showing the absence of all opposition to a Catholic hierarchy ; and if Protestant fanaticism did not attempt to excite the people and irritate religious passions, it was because France was too necessary an ally to permit any insult to the religious feelings of Louis XV." (*op.cit.*, pp. 60-61).

Father Carroll accepted the appointment as Prefect-Apostolic rather reluctantly "since the Prefecture was expected to pave the way to some more satisfactory and permanent arrangement, and since on the hand, his refusal might result in the imposition of a foreigner as Prefect of the Catholics of America, Carroll yielded to the arguments of his fellow priests and decided to take up the onerous office." (O'GORMAN,

History of the Catholic Church in the United States, p. 267. New York, 1907).

That the fear of the imposition of a foreigner was well founded is proven by the documentary evidence of an intrigue in which Franklin, unwittingly, perhaps, was involved. (CUILDAY, *ut supra*, *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. V., pp. 26-36).

The Prefecture, moreover, did not meet the requirements of the American Church. This is shown by Carroll's correspondence, which is thus summed up by Shea :

The action of the Holy See had given the Catholics in the United States a separate organisation ; but among priests and people who had just emerged from the oppressed condition so long maintained by the penal laws, the temporary tenure of the Prefect, his absolute dependence on the Propaganda, and the extremely limited powers given him, were the source of much uneasiness. (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 249-256. New York, 1886).

Several requests were made by Propaganda for definite information regarding the state of the Church in the New Republic. This information Father Carroll received by means of correspondence with his brother priests between November, 1784 and March 1, 1785. He embodied the information in his *Relation of the State of Religion in the United States*. A photostat copy of this is published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. VI, pp. 244-46. Summarized, there were in Maryland about 15,000 Catholics ; about 7,000 in Pennsylvania ; not more than 200 in Virginia ; about 1,500 in the State of New York ; there are no data regarding the Mississippi Valley, where there were many French Canadians. There were 19 priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania. There was a college in Pennsylvania, and it was proposed to establish two in Maryland, and Father Carroll thought of establishing a seminary where young men might be trained for the ecclesiastical state. The priests were: Very Rev. John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic ; Rev. John Lewis, Bohemia ; Rev. James Walton, at St. Inigoes ; Rev. Henry Pile, Newport ; Rev. Benedict Neale, Rev. Ignatius Matthews, at St. Thomas's Manor ; Rev. J. Ashton, Sylvester Boorman, Port Tobacco ; Rev. Leonard Neale, Rev. Charles Sewall, Baltimore ; Rev. Joseph Mosley, St. Joseph's ; Revs. Augustine Jenkins, John Bolton, Francis Beeston, Lewis Roels, Thomas Digges, Bernard Diedrich, John Boone ; Rev. James Frambach, at Fredericktown ; the five in Pennsylvania were Revs. Robert Molyneux, Ferdinand Farmer, Philadelphia ; James Pellentz, Conewago ; Luke Geissler, Lancaster ; John B. de Ritter, Goshenhoppen.

NOTE 12 (p. 6). The necessity for a more compact organisation daily became more and more apparent ; and Father Carroll felt himself rather incapable of bringing all the elements of Catholic life in the United States into strict conformity with canonical rule. The number of his priests was limited ; means of communication were slow ; and the very liberty which the new Republic had proclaimed to all the earth and the inhabitants thereof opened the way to adventurers ecclesiastic, as it did to adventurers lay or civil. Moreover, there were serious difficulties in the Church regarding the administration of Church property, and the spirit of nationalism was looming up as a potent source of danger. The five years of Carroll's Prefectship were as critical in their own way to the Church as was the uncertainty which ruled the political life of the nation between the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and Washington's election to the Presidency in 1789.

In view of the serious condition of affairs opposition to the appointment of a Bishop ceased, and the clergy, in their meeting at White-marsh, March 18, 1788, decided to petition the Holy See for a Bishop. The committee appointed to draft the petition were Revs. John Carroll, Robert Molyneux, and John Ashton. It was forwarded by the Spanish Minister at New York to the Count de Floridablanca, by whom transmitted to Don Nicolas de Azara, the Spanish representative at the Pontifical Court. The Holy See acted promptly upon the petition, and Cardinal Antonelli, by letter of July 12, 1788, informed Dr. Carroll that permission was given to the priests of the mission to select the city, and, for this time only, to name the candidate for presentation to the Pope.

As regards the attitude of Congress in the appointment of a Bishop for the United States, the following resolution indicates that Congress took no action of any kind. It is one of the resolutions passed by Congress May 11, 1784 :

Resolved, That Dr. Franklin be desired to notify the apostolic nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state ; but that the subject of his application to Dr. Franklin, being purely spiritual, is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually (*Secret Journals of Congress*, vol. III, p. 493. Boston, 1821).

Dilhet is not the only French author who discusses the "enthusiasm" of the American Congress over the appointment of Bishop Carroll. Rohrbacher makes Congress "urge the Pope to gratify their wishes." (*Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise catholique*, vol. XXVII, p. 279. Paris, 1842.)

NOTE 13 (p. 8). There can be no doubt as to Maryland being a Catholic centre ; but its commercial rating was lower than either that of New York or Philadelphia.

NOTE 14 (p. 11). It is a singular, not to say providential, coincidence that Washington and Carroll came to their offices at the same time. Washington was inaugurated April 30 1789 ; Carroll was consecrated August 15, 1790, and our church organisation was perfected. It was a coincidence emblematic of the amity and concord which have hitherto existed between the Church and the republic — amity and concord, which, instead of being obliterated, are emphasized by the clear-cut distinction made in our fundamental law between the two spheres, the political and the religious.

NOTE 15 (p. 13). Charles Walmealey, Bishop of Rama, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District, England, (b. 13 January, 1722, and died at Bath, England, November 25, 1797). He was educated at the English Benedictine College of St. Gregory at Douai (now Downside Abbey, Bath) ; and made his profession as a Benedictine monk at the English monastery of St. Edmund, Paris, in 1739. Later he obtained a doctorship in theology at the Sorbonne. His scientific attainments soon brought him into notice as an astronomer and mathematician. He was consulted by the British Government on the reform of the calendar and introduction of the " New Style ", and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and the kindred societies of Paris, Berlin, and Bologna. From 1749 to 1753 he was Prior of St. Edmund's, Paris. In 1755 he was named coadjutor to Bishop York, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District, whom he succeeded on the latter's death in 1770. His ability attracted to him an amount of attention seldom given to a Catholic bishop in England. In 1789, when the action of the " Catholic Committee " threatened seriously to compromise English Catholics, Bishop Walmealey called a synod of his colleagues, and a decree was issued setting forth that the bishops of England unanimously condemned the new form of oath intended for the Catholics, and declared unlawful to be taken

His published works consist chiefly of treatises on astronomy and mathematics, but his *General History of the Christian Church ... chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle*, by Signor Pastorini (a pseudonym), went through nine or ten editions in Great Britain and five more were produced in America. Translations of the work also appeared in Latin, French, German, and Italian, and were several times reprinted.

NOTE 16 (p. 14). The sermon on the occasion of Bishop Carroll's consecration was preached by Father Charles Plowden, a life-long friend :

Our Blessed Lord and Redeemer, having defeated the powers of Hell, by the triumph of the cross, formed to himself a kingdom of earth, which was to consist of the chosen of every nation ; because all nations were now become his own by right of conquest. The sun of justice, which rose from the east, has by its progress enlightened every region of the globe ; and the kingdom of Christ, the church, under the government of his vicar and of pastors deputed by him, has successively embraced the whole world. Ages succeed ages ; and empires subvert empires ; but the empire of Jesus Christ perseveres ever one and the same ; ever persecuted and ever conquering ; because all human revolutions are entirely subservient to it ; and the formation of the kingdom of Christ is the ultimate object of the whole dispensation of Providence, in the government of the world. Never, perhaps, was this truth more sensibly evinced, than in the late violent convulsions, by which the hand of the Almighty has dismembered the great British empire, and has called forth into existence a new empire of the western world, the destinies of which, we trust, are founded in tenderest mercies. For although this great event may appear to us to have been the work, the sport of human passions, yet the earliest and most precious fruits of it has been the extension of the kingdom of Christ, the propagation of the Catholic religion, which, heretofore fettered by restraining laws, is now enlarged from bondage, and is left at liberty to exert the full energy of divine truth. Already is Catholicity extended to the uttermost boundaries of the immense continent of America. Thousand are there earnestly demanding Catholic instruction. And all, penetrated with reverence for the apostolic see of St. Peter, have concurred to demand from his successor, a Catholic prelate, whose knowledge and whose zeal may establish the faith of Peter in those extensive countries.

It is to be observed, that if Britain infected them with error, we have the consolation to know, that their Catholicity is also derived immediately from us ; and as we, in former times, received the faith of Rome from the great St. Gregory and our apostle St. Austin ; so now, at an interval of twelve hundred years, our venerable prelate, the heir of the virtues and the labors of our apostle, will, this day, by commission from the successor of St. Gregory, consecrate the first father and bishop of the new church, destined, as we confide, to inherit those benedictions which the first called have ungratefully rejected. Glorious is this day, my brethren, for the church of God, which sees new nations crowding into her bosom ; glorious for the prelate elect, who goes forth to conquer these nations for Jesus Christ, not by the efforts of human power, but in the might with those weapons which have ever triumphed in this divine warfare. He is not armed with the strength of this world ; but he is powerful in piety, powerful in zeal, powerful in evangelical poverty, and firm reliance on the protection of that God who sends him. Glorious is this event, for his numerous spiritual children, to whom his virtues have long endeared him ; comforting it is to us who have long been

connected with him by the virtuous ties of education, profession and friendship ; but, in a special manner, my brethren, honorable and comforting is this awful solemnity to his and our common benefactor, the founder of this holy sanctuary, which shall be revered throughout succeeding ages, even by churches yet unnamed, as the privileged, the happy spot from which their episcopacy and hierarchy took their immediate rise, and this precious distinction will be justly attributed to the protection and favor of the glorious Mother of God, whose house it is, and through whose patronage all Christian churches are founded. On this her greatest solemnity, my brethren, it is your duty to implore the particular assistance of the great queen of heaven ; and while you are edified by the solemn rites, with which the Catholic Church consecrates her prelates, you will earnestly solicit the descent of the Holy Ghost, on the bishop elect, that like another Austin, he may worthily fulfil the extent of his apostleship to which he is called ; and when you implore for him the seven-fold grace of the Holy Spirit, you will not fail to demand it through the intercession of her whom you daily salute, ' Mother of Divine Grace.

In full confidence of her protection and blessing upon our ministry, we proceed to the solemnity of the consecration. (BRENT, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, First Archbishop of Baltimore*, pp. 114-118. Baltimore, 1843.)

NOTE 17 (p. 14). The owner of Lulworth Castle, Thomas Weld, is incorrectly styled " Lord Lulworth ". Thomas Weld (born 1750 ; died 1810) was a distinguished English Catholic, whose life was a series of benefactions. He relieved the misfortunes of the French refugees to England during the Revolution and he gave Stonyhurst College and thirty acres of land to the exiled Jesuits ; entirely supported the Poor Clares, who had fled from Gravelines ; and founded and maintained Mount Melleray, a Cistercian (Trappist) monastery at Lulworth, in Dorsetshire, England. His son, Thomas Weld, after the death of his wife and the marriage of his only daughter, became a priest (1821) and maintained an orphanage in London. He was consecrated Bishop of Upper Canada (Kingston) in 1826, but failing health prevented him from occupying the see. While visiting Rome, in 1830, he was raised to the Cardinalate. Several members of the Weld family have occupied high positions in the Church in England.

NOTE 18 (p. 16). Father Emery showed his knowledge of the needs of the new establishment, his acquaintance with the character of his confrères, and his determination to give to the Church of the United States the very best forces that he had at his disposal by sending Father Nagot to Baltimore. (HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, p. 18. New York, 1916).

Francis Charles Nagot was born at Tours in 1734, and had been connected with the Petit Séminaire of St. Sulpice, as head of the school of philosophy. He was also Director of the Grand Séminary and professor of theology. He enjoyed the confidence of M. Emery, and one of the latter's last letters was addressed to his venerable friend. Among the pupils who had studied under M. Nagot was the celebrated Abbé Edgeworth, the intrepid Irish priest, who administered the last Sacraments to Louis XVI.

NOTE 16 (p. 16). The fact that M. Galais suggested Gallipolis as the site of the Sulpician foundation in the United States is explained by the existence of what promised to be an important French colony on the banks of the Ohio River. That this colony had acquired some notoriety in ecclesiastical circles may be gleaned from the statement: "it may have had something to do with the hastening of the appointment of Carroll." (KENNY. "The Gallipolis Colony:" in *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. IV. pp. 415-451).

It is evident that the Gallipolis Colony was the occasion of a lengthy correspondence with the Holy See by those interested in its foundation. The story of this colony is tragic.

In 1787, a Congregational minister, Manasseh Cutler by name, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, with certain prominent citizens of the state, organized an "Ohio Company" with a capital of \$120,000. From this developed the "Scioto Company," of which the guiding spirit was the political pamphleteer, Joel Barlow. In May, or June, 1788, Barlow went to Paris as agent of the parent Ohio Company where, soon after the fall of the Bastille, he organized "La Compagnie du Scioto", negotiated the purchase of 3,000,000 acres from the American organization at \$1.20 per acre. The stock was resold to prospective immigrants to America in small lots and with *full right of ownership*. although it possessed itself only rights to pre-emption. Among the French shareholders in the French company we find the names of M. du Val d'Espresmenil, the Marquis de Marnesia, the Marquis de Gaville, Viscount de Malartic, Baron de la Bretèche, de Lally, Mounier, Malonet, De Vachy, De Maubranche, Thiebaut, and Madame de Laval. D'Espresmenil was the heart of the company, and in his plans for this colony at Gallipolis, the settlement of which had been begun by the American promoters in preparation for the coming of the emigrants, he determined to resurrect the spiritual and religious life of his nation that had been swallowed up in the chaos of the French Revolution, which was then reaching its worst excesses.

The first emigrants left Havre on May 26, 1790, and numbered in all 139 persons. These were followed by many others, and during the first half of the year 1790, more than a thousand French colonists reach-

ed the United States under the guidance of the Scioto Company. By December, 1790, most of them were gathered at Gallipolis and Marietta which had received its name from General Farnum who had such a hatred against the English that he wished that Greek only be spoken in the United States. (BRISOT DE WARVILLE. *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale fait en 1789*, vol. II, p. 423, Paris 1789).

But disaster soon fell upon the luckless emigrants. When these lands were sold to the Scioto Company the Indians were still in possession, and the French immigrants soon learned that they could only keep the land they had bought by buying it a second time from the Indians themselves. The colonists then made an appeal to the American Government, and General St. Clair, with a regiment of 3,000 soldiers, was sent to drive the Indians from the territory. The expedition failed, as the Indians scalped one half of St. Clair's soldiers. The Scioto enterprise failed, part of the colonists went to New Orleans, some to the North, others to St. Louis. Some of the inhabitants of Gallipolis took refuge in Virginia; and a group, led by Marnesia, founded the settlement called *Asylum*, near Pittsburgh. Compare BELOT, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*. Cincinnati, 1907.

It was indeed a motley crowd that left France for the colony in the American wilds, "where old nobles and counts with gentle ladies, right out of the most brilliant court the world has ever known, are translated, to the uncouth haunts of savage men and beasts. There are not indeed any thieves or murderers among them, if one except the Count Malartic, a professional warrior... One may find among them... the ex-priest Fromentin, one day to become a member of the United States Senate... There, too, is von Schrilitz and his reputed wife, who will leave an illegitimate progeny to carry his shame down the ages... To the Americans, the greatest wonder in the colony is Monsieur Duthiel, a farmer who always insists on giving too much of his wheat in every barter lest he get the better on any of his neighbors. Death itself will stand in awe of Jean Baptiste Bertrand, who even in days of famine will observe all the feasts of the Church... (and) sweet Mademoiselle Vimont humming the strains of sacred anthems she used to sing in the grand old Notre Dame of Paris." (KENNY, *op. cit.*, p. 436).

The promoters of the scheme asked the Papal Nuncio in Paris, Mgr. Dugnani, to present to the Holy Father the name of the Abbé Boisanlantier as Bishop of the establishment of Gallipolis. (*Archiv. di Propaganda Fide, America Centrale*, vol. II. (1776-1790), pp. 388-389.)

Boisanlantier never came to America, as another *Memorial* was sent to the Papal Nuncio asking for the election of Dom Didier, a Benedictine monk of St. Maur, as Bishop of the Colony. (*Archiv. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, vol. II (1776-1790), p. 379).

Didier issued a document setting forth the needs of such an appointment, a copy of which is found in the Propaganda Documents of the section just quoted.

The Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the promoters of the Scioto Company and on April 26, 1790, appointed Didier Vicar-General in *spiritualibus* for seven years. A copy of this Brief still exists in the Catholic archives at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 201).

Bishop Carroll notes the arrival of Didier in America in a letter to Father Plowden, S.J., of date September 3, 1791. Compare HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. I, pt. II, p. 754.

The failure of the whole scheme is but another incident in the already long list of utopian projects which have had their stage in America from the early colonial days and later when such attempts as the New Ireland Plantation and the Celtic Republic were made for the oppressed people of Europe. It is difficult to say with any degree of accuracy what became of Dom Didier after the collapse of the Gallipolis colony. O'Hanlon (*Life and Scenery of Missouri*) states that Father Didier officiated at St. Louis from 1793 to 1799. It is surmised that he went to New Orleans in 1800. Shea calls him the pioneer Benedictine in this country and says that he died at St. Louis. Left without a priest, the settlement at Gallipolis soon lost its coherence and dwindled away. Religion gradually faded out. Children were no longer baptized they did not even ask Dr. Carroll to send them a priest. On Sundays instead of prayer and Catholic instructions, meetings were held where deism and infidelity were openly advocated. Such was the end of the Prefecture Apostolic of the Scioto. See *Catholic Historical Review*, vol II, p. 204.

NOTE 20 (p. 18). Bishop Carroll welcomed this project most eagerly and writes :)

Providence seems to favor our views. In consequence of a previous correspondence between the Nuncio at Paris and Monsieur Emery, superior general of St. Sulpice, on one hand, and myself on the other, Monsieur Nagot, superior du petit séminaire de St. Sulpice, has been here. We have settled that two or three gentlemen, selected by M. Emery, shall come over to Baltimore next spring. They are furnished with the means of purchasing ground for building, and I hope, of endowing a seminary for young ecclesiastics. I believe they will bring three or four seminarians with them, who either are English, or know it. They will be amply provided with books, apparatus for the altar, church, etc., professors of philosophy and divinity. I propose fixing these very near to my own house, and the cathedral of Baltimore, that they may be, as it were, the clergy of the church, and contribute to the

dignity of divine worship. This is a great and auspicious event for our diocese, but it is a melancholy reflection that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe in France. (*Letter of Bishop Carroll*, dated London, September 25, 1790, in *BRENT*, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6).

NOTE 21 (p. 17). On their voyage across the Atlantic the Sulpicians had as fellow-passengers, Francis de Chateaubriand, then on his way to America in pursuit of one of his chimeras, the northwest passage. A revelation of the character of this "most unintelligible of all literary Frenchmen" is seen in connection with his contact with the Sulpicians on this voyage. In recording the events of the voyage in *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, he says: "Those travelling companions would have suited me better four years before. I had been a zealous Christian, but had become a 'strong mind', that is, a 'weak mind'. This change in my religion opinions had been effected by the reading of the philosophers of the day. I sincerely believed that a religious mind was paralyzed on one side; that there were truths which could not reach it, superior as it might be otherwise. I supposed in the religious mind the absence of a faculty found in the philosophic mind. A purblind man thinks he sees all because he has his eyes open; a superior mind is content to close its eyes because it perceives all within."

"Among my fellow passengers was an Englishman, Francis Tulloh who had served in the artillery... The Abbé Nagot, having met the English officer, made a Catholic of him, and was taking his convert to Baltimore."

NOTE 22 (p. 17). When the Sulpicians arrived in Baltimore Bishop Carroll was absent. Father Sewall, the resident pastor, took them to a house on Baltimore street. Some days later Father Nagot found a place at Paca and St. Mary Streets, known as "One Mile Tavern", which seemed a suitable place for the seminary. He hired it for five hundred dollars a year, and later purchased it for eight hundred and fifty pounds (\$2,266.66), together with four acres of land adjoining. After some alterations, it was soon ready for occupation. The spiritual retreat was begun on December 10, 1791, and on the 15th the first chapel was dedicated. (*Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice*, p. 5. Baltimore, 1891).

NOTE 23 (p. 18). The first American seminarian was William Matthews, nephew of Archbishop Neale, who was ordained in 1800. He was for nearly fifty years pastor of St. Patrick's, in Washington. Father Flaget taught at Georgetown from 1795 to 1798. Father DuBourg was president of the same institution from September, 1796, to January 7, 1799, and Father Maréchal was professor of philosophy there in 1801. After resigning from Georgetown, Fathers Du Bourg and Flaget went to Cuba to aid another Sulpician, Father Babad, to found

a college at Havana. The Spanish government prevented them from carrying on their educational work, and they returned to Baltimore. (HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, p. 44. New York, 1916).

NOTE 24 (p. 19). Soon after his installation Bishop Carroll received a letter from Penobscot, asking for a priest. He knew nothing of these Indians until his visit to Boston some time before. He immediately took steps to procure a priest to reside amongst them. Meanwhile he addressed them a most affectionate letter. (BRENT, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 155 ff. Baltimore, 1843.).

Missionary work among the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians began in 1613, when the Jesuit Fathers Biard, Quentin, and Massé, with Brother Du Thet planted the cross in Mount Desert Island and established St. Sauveur, which, however, had but a brief existence. It was destroyed by Argall the notorious Virginian buccaneer. Father Biard had reached the Indians shortly after the establishment of St. Sauveur and began a mission, which, brief though it was, had produced results. The mission was revived in 1646 by Father Gabriel Druillôt of the Society of Jesus, who drew off many of them to the Indian missions in Canada. In 1688 Father Bigot, S. J., again took up work on the Kennebec; and in the same year Father Louis-Pierre Thury, of the Quebec Seminary, established the first regular mission at Panawambskek, or Penobscot, at the Falls near the present Oldtown. The Seminary priests continued in this mission till 1703, when it was transferred to Jesuit control, under which it continued until the fall of Canada in 1763. The Abenakis to which tribe both the Passamaquoddies and the Penobscots belonged, were never in sympathy with the English and were consequently subject to hard and outrageous treatment at various intervals by the English officers. The English governor of Massachusetts, Dudley, actually determined to exterminate them. One of the earliest victims of British cruelty was Father Sebastian Rasle, "the apostle of the Abenakis." The Indians had preserved Father Rasle's crucifix with the greatest reverence, and sent it to Bishop Carroll when they made the request for a priest. (DIONNE, *La Mémoire du P. Rasle Vengée*, p. 163. Québec, 1911). Compare MAURAUULT, *Histoire des Abénakis*. Québec, 1866.

NOTE 24a. (p. 19). Father Ciquard, who was sent by Father Carroll as missionary to the Abenakis, had had an eventful career before coming to the United States. Born at Vic-le-Comte, in the diocese of Clermont, August 29, 1754, he was ordained as a secular priest, December 22, 1781, and entered the Company of St. Sulpice, in 1782. In the following year he was sent to Canada, arriving in Montreal in the early spring. Immediately on arrival the English governor, Haldimand,

ordered him to go back to Quebec, and, later, to Malbaie (Murray Bay) to await a vessel for transportation to Europe. Ciquard escaped from his guards and returned to Montreal, where he was captured. He was then sent as a prisoner to Bic Island, in the St. Lawrence, whence he was transported to England. (GAGNON, *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, p. 564. Québec, 1895).

Later he returned to Paris, and in 1763 went back to the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Refusing to take the oath of the Civil Constitution tendered to him by the constitutional bishop, he was expelled from France, and toward the end of February, 1792, he set out for the United States in company with Fathers Maréchal and Richard. His missionary labors covered not only northern Maine, but a large part of New Brunswick. After a life of vicissitudes he returned to Montreal and died there September 28, 1824 (BERTRAND, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 62).

NOTE 25 (p. 21). It is difficult to decipher the names of the priests as written by Dilhet. They are often misspelled, and the nationality is wrongly noted. For example, Plunkett was an Englishman, and Ashton was an Irishman.

NOTE 26 (p. 22). The regulations adopted by the Synod were made public in a pastoral letter issued May 28, 1792. It was the first document of this kind ever published in the United States, and the Bishop's signature, "John, Bishop of Baltimore", seems to have aroused the indignation of a minister of one of the Protestant denominations, "who published through the medium of the newspapers some harsh strictures upon it." (BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-30).

NOTE 27 (p. 22). The coadjutor chosen by Bishop Carroll was not Leonard Neale, but Rev. Lawrence Graessal, "a learned and devoted priest of whose sanctity tradition has preserved the most exalted estimate." Father Graessal, however, died before the appointment was made; and when the death of the Bishop-elect was made known to the Holy See, "Dr. Carroll was requested to make another selection. This time the choice fell on Rev. Leonard Neale. Although selected as coadjutor in 1795, the Bulls did not reach the hands of Bishop Carroll. In January 1800 they were forwarded for the third time, from Venice, by Cardinal Stephen Borgia, and were received at Baltimore during the summer. Owing to an epidemic of yellow fever, the consecration did not take place until December 8, Feast of the Immaculate Conception." (RIORDAN, *Cathedral Records*, p. 16. Baltimore, 1906).

NOTE 28 (p. 24). The topographical data regarding Maryland are inaccurate. The total area is 12,210 square miles, of which 2,319 miles are water. The state has had several constitutions.

NOTE 29 (p. 25). The reference to St. John's College is unintelligible in the text. "This institution was incorporated in 1784 and received from the state an appropriation of \$1,750 per annum, on condition that the city should convey to the trustees 34 acres of land which had been given to the corporation by Lord Baltimore. In the high party excitement of 1805 the grant referred to was annulled. However, since then the state has made appropriations for its support." (HAYWARD, *A Gazetteer of the United States*, p. 609. Boston, 1853).

NOTE 30 (p. 30). Dilhet's description of Baltimore is not accurate. "Baltimore is, in fact, a congeries of three towns: 'Baltimore Town' which originally embraced a small tract on the west side of Jones' Falls; 'Old Town' which was early and separately settled, on the east side of the Falls; and Fell's Point which grew up to southeast of the stream on the outer basin. The first church erected in Baltimore was St. Paul's (Anglican) completed in 1744. An inventory of Baltimore Town in 1752 gives twenty-five houses, one of which is a church — and two taverns — four of these edifices built of brick, one being of two stories and without a hip-roof — two hundred men, women, children, slaves and servants, to occupy the buildings." (BRANTZ MEYER, *Historical Sketch of Baltimore*, in *Baltimore Past and Present*, p. 23. Baltimore, 1871).

Baltimore became a city on December 31, 1796. Methodism was planted early in Maryland, and in 1784 the Methodists procured from John Wesley (residing in England) the appointment of a superintendent. On Christmas Day, 1784, the first Methodist Conference was held in the city; sixty preachers were present. (MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 63).

Baltimore had a newspaper — the *Maryland Gazette* — in 1775; and Dilhet presumably got some of his data regarding Baltimore and its environs from it.

St. Peter's Rectory — Bishop Carroll's first episcopal residence was a very modest structure. It was built by the Rev. John Ashton. Writing to Bishop Carroll, in 1801, Ashton says: "I built the house in which you sleep." It is not known by whom the first Mass was celebrated in Baltimore. There is no record of any congregational or private Mass prior to 1756.

In 1755-56 a band of Acadian exiles arrived in Baltimore. Some were quartered in private houses and others in a deserted house owned by Edward Fotherell, an Irishman "who imported all the materials and erected the first brick house in town." (RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

The Acadians fitted up a room in this building which thus became Baltimore's first chapel. Father Ashton came from Carroll's Manor to visit them once a month.

In 1764 a lot (No. 157) situated at North West (Saratoga) and Forest (Little Sharp) streets was purchased from Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This was the first property acquired by the Church in Baltimore. About 1770 the building known as St. Peter's Church (Bishop Carroll's pro-cathedral) was erected. It was a plain two-story residence, 25 x 30 ft., of red brick, and there was nothing to distinguish it as a church or chapel, and "in fact it could not well have been thus fashioned at the time, for the law prohibited Catholics from having any place of worship; the Mass and all other religious services being tolerated only in privacy of the domestic circle." (Rev. A. J. FREDERICK, in *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, Feb. 7, 1906).

The contractor, McNab, failed before the completion of the building, and the principal creditor, a Mr. P..., locked up the house and took possession of the key. "By a ludicrous suit against Ganganelli, Pope of Rome, for want of other defendant, to recover the advances of McNab... the church was some time closed... and the congregation assembled in a private house on South Charles Street until possession was recovered." (GRIFFITH, *Annals of Baltimore*, cited by RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

NOTE 30 (p. 31). The church was reopened under very peculiar circumstances. A volunteer force, organized to repel the invasion by Dunmore, the English Governor of Virginia, was quartered at Baltimore in the early days of the Revolutionary War. Some of the soldiers wished to attend church and finding it locked they marched to the door of the money-lender and demanded the key. The Catholics held possession of the church till the close of the Revolution, when the sum of two hundred pounds due on the building was raised by subscription and Mr. P's claim was cancelled.

As to the title (St. Peter's) perhaps the close proximity of St. Paul's Episcopal Church suggested, the naming of the first Catholic temple St. Peter's.

Father Ashton, writing to Bishop Carroll, regarding Napoleon's attitude toward the Holy See, says: "Who knows but the Chair of Peter may yet be translated to America, and that St. Peter's Church in Baltimore may be substituted for St. Peter's of Rome, and that ye Bishop of Baltimore may be identified with ye head of Christ's Church on earth!" (FREDERICK, in *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, March, 1906)

The original chapel was enlarged in 1784. The building then measured 60 x 65 feet.

From 1775 the chapel was attended monthly. There was no resident priest before the close of the year 1782. The first priest to reside in Baltimore was Rev. Charles Sewall, a native of Maryland. A pastor of St. Mary's he took part in the first Synod.

In addition to the Acadians who came to Baltimore in 1793, a number of refugees from St. Domingo, amongst them some very distinguished Catholics, arrived about the same time. They were too poor to build a church and support a priest, so they were provided for at St. Peter's by the exiled priests Moranvillé and Dubourg, both of whom rendered great service to the faith in Baltimore.

The following priests performed baptisms at St. Peter's Church, or assisted at marriages from 1782 to 1803 : Rev. Charles Sewall ; Rev. Francis Beeston ; Rev. M. Cibot, apostolic vice-prefect of St. Domingo, pastor of Bohemia Mission, Maryland ; Rev. F.-X. Brosius, St. John's (now St. Alphonsus) Church, Baltimore ; Rev. F. C. Nagot, S.S., St. Marys' Seminary ; Rev. Louis C. de Laviau, Canon of Tours, companion to Rev. Mr. Nagot ; Rev. Anthony Garnier, S.S., pastor of St. Patrick's ; Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, S.S. ; Rev. Charles L. Lussan, Deer Creek, Maryland, later a missionary in Illinois ; Rev. M. C. de Ropey ; Rev. L. de Barth, Conewago, later an administrator of the diocese of Philadelphia ; Rev. John B. Chicoisneau, S. S. ; Rev. John Floyd, St. Patrick's Church ; Rev. Louis Valentine, St. Louis, Mo. ; Rev. Augustine Smith (Prince Galitsin) ; Rev. William Reuter, St. John's (now St. Alphonsus) Church ; Rev. Abbé Moranvillé, pastor of St. Patrick's, Rev. A. LeMercier, Charleston, South Carolina ; Rev. William Pasquet de Lyde, Deer Creek, Md., exile from San Domingo ; Rev. J. Tessier, S.S., St. Mary's Seminary (Riordan, *Cathedral Records*, p. 18).

NOTE 22 (p. 31). The General Assembly of Maryland in November, 1795, passed an act incorporating "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in Baltimore Town," naming as trustees Rt. Rev. John Carroll, Rev. Francis Beeston, Robert Walsh, James Barry, David Williamson, Charles Ghequière, Charles O'Brien, Luke Tiernan, and Georges Rosensteel. At a first meeting of the trustees, held December 29, 1795, it was resolved to open subscriptions for the building of a cathedral.

In 1803 Bishop Carroll made a public appeal for funds to the head of every Catholic family in the United States for one dollar annually for five years. He also made an appeal to Napoleon Bonaparte. A copy of this appeal is in the Baltimore Archives. (Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

The selection of a site for the cathedral was beset with many difficulties. The site on which the cathedral stands was purchased from Colonel Howard for \$20,571.60. The Lottery scheme was adopted by the Trustees, March 24, 1803.

Lotteries were quite common as a means of raising funds in those days. Lotteries were held for St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, in 1779, 1788, and 1805. The Baltimore Market House was completed from the proceeds of a lottery in 1763.

There were three grants by the Legislature of Massachusetts of lottery privileges, one in 1772, another in 1774, and a third in July 1806." See QUINCY, *History of Harvard University*, vol- II, pp. 162, 273 292. Cambridge, 1840.

NORM 33 (p. 31). The outward length of the Cathedral, including the porticos, is 190 feet; its width, including the transept, is 177 feet, and its height from the floor of the nave to the summit of the cross is 129 feet. The architect was Henry Latrobe, who also designed the National Capitol in Washington.

NORM 34 (p. 34). John Floyd was born in England and was a convert to the faith. He came to Baltimore with Father Nagot, and was ordained at St. Mary's Seminary, December 19, 1795. After ordination he was appointed to the charge of St. Patrick's congregation, which he visited twice a week, celebrating Mass and preaching every Sunday and Thursday. On Sunday, September 4, 1797, while celebrating Mass he was summoned to attend a person dying of yellow fever, and contracted the disease. He died on the following Thursday. The tombstone, which still marks his grave, was the gift of Miss Ann Barry, elder daughter of James Barry, the noted Baltimore merchant. (*Cathedral Records*, p. 18).

After the death of Father Floyd, Father Garnier again took charge of the congregation until the appointment of Rev. Michael Cuddy, who died within a year of his appointment. His successor, Father Moranville, who had left Cayenne on account of his refusing to take the oath required by the National Assembly of France, arrived at Norfolk, Virginia, in the latter part of 1794. He obtained employment as teacher in Madame Lecombe's academy, and on Sundays said Mass for the refugees from St. Domingo at St. Peter's, later becoming pastor of St. Patrick's at Fell's Point. (*Ibid*, p. 17)

NORM 35 (p. 37). St. John's Church occupied the site on which St Alphonsus Church now stands. Caesarius Reuter was placed at the pro-Cathedral to take charge of the Germans. Whilst there, he urged the latter to demand a separate church. Reuter failed in his first attempt to bring this about, and he returned to Germany. He came back to the United States after a brief sojourn in Europe pretending that he had been authorised by the Holy See to erect a German Church which should be independent of the Bishop of Baltimore. He was suspended by the Bishop, but during a second trip to Europe he obtained release from the censures. He was, however forbidden to return to the United States. Meanwhile the Germans proceeded with the building of the church, and elected Reuter pastor. To settle the question Bishop Carroll appointed Rev. F. X. Brosius pastor and obtained a writ of mandamus from the court to compel the trustees to receive him. They,

however, contended that neither Bishop nor Pope had the right to appoint a pastor without the assent and approbation of the congregation or a majority of the same. They also set up the defense that they had put the church under the control of the "Minority Conventuals of the Order of St. Francis", and thus Reuter and the church owed obedience to the civil magistrate and to that order, and to no other ecclesiastical power. The General Court, after a full argument of the case, decided against them on May 19, 1805. (SHNA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 423-25. New York, 1886).

NORM 36 (p. 41). The decision to build an academy at Georgetown was made at a meeting of the General Chapter of the Clergy (ex-Jesuits) held at Whitemarsh, November 13, 1786, under the presidency of the Prefect-Apostolic, the Very Rev. John Carroll; but the clergy of the southern district, led by Rev. Bernard Diderick, opposed the plan. Father Diderick was a Walloon from Southeastern Belgium. He had protested against the appointment of a Bishop in the United States, fearing that a foreigner might be selected by the Holy See. He died at Notley Hall, Prince George County, September, 1783. (TENNANT, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missions*, p. 182, Swedesboro, N. J. — no date).

However, notwithstanding the difficulties with which he was confronted, Dr. Carroll went forward with his plans. Writing to Father Plowden in 1786, he says: "I have the happiness to inform you that our academy is begun, and we have some hopes of seeing it covered this year. Do not forget your promise of some assistance" (BENNETT, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. J. Carroll*, p. 80. Baltimore, 1843).

In February, 1791, he writes to the same friend: "I trust in God that our Georgetown academy will be open in a few months".

In November, 1795, he again mentions his favorite subject in a communication to Father Plowden: "The new building of the college is nearly completed, and a noble one it is. It presents a front of 154 feet and an elevation of three stories on one side, and four on the other as a slant of the ground uncovers the offices upon that view. I sincerely wish you had such a building at Stonyhurst" (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

The Rev. Robert Plunkett was the first president of Georgetown. The corporation defrayed the expenses of his passage to America. He entered upon his duties in 1791, and served for two years. He was succeeded by Father Robert Molyneux, who was holding the presidency of the college for a second term at the time of his death, in 1808. The school began with very elementary classes, but the original plan contemplated a complete academic course, the standard of the classes was gradually raised, and their number increased. Some of the assistant teachers were aspirants to Holy Orders, and a class in theology was formed. Four of

this class were elevated to the priesthood, Benedict Fenwick, Enoch Fenwick, Leonard Edelen, and John Spink, the first members of the Society of Jesus to be ordained in the United States (DEVITT, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. v., p. 459. Cfr. EASBY SMITH, *Georgetown University, Its Founders, Benefactors, Officers and Alumni*. New York and Chicago, 1907).

NOTE 37 (p. 42). The Carmelite Nuns who came to the United States were Mother Clare F. Dickinson, from the Mother House at Antwerp, Mother Bernardine Mathews, Superior of that house and her nieces Aloysia and Eleonora Mathews from the convent at Hoagstraet. They left Europe April 9, 1790, and arrived at Port Tobacco after a stormy voyage. Father Charles Neale gave the nuns a farm and house, but it was unsuitable and he exchanged the property for a more suitable one. Father Neale also gave them a sum of money (about \$7,000).

Dilhet presumably has confused the Visitation nuns with the Carmelites. The foundress of the Visitation Nuns in the United States was Miss Alice Lalor, a native of Queen's County, Ireland, who had come out to Philadelphia with her parents in 1797. When Rev. Leonard Neale became president of Georgetown College, Miss Lalor, and a companion, came to Georgetown and became teachers in the Academy of Poor Clares. Here they were joined by a third lady from Philadelphia, who brought a dowry, part of which was used in the purchase of a house which later became the Mother House of the community under the direction of Father Neale. Thus they continued for several years. When Father Neale succeeded Archbishop Carroll in the See of Baltimore, in 1815, he applied to the Holy See for power to erect the community into a religious house of the Order of the Visitation, with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other monasteries of the rule; and on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, 1816, he received the solemn profession of Miss Lalor, Mrs McDermott, and Miss Harriet Brent. The rest of the community, which then numbered thirty-three, took their vows on the Feast of St. Francis de Sales, January 29, 1817 (SHMA, *op cit.*, pp. 385, 616, *note*).

NOTE 38 (p. 43). The selection of Washington as the National Capitol was the result of a political bargain between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. The State of Maryland ceded seventy square miles and Virginia gave thirty square miles. In 1846 the portion taken from Virginia, including the town of Alexandria, was retroceded to the state, and the District of Columbia was reduced to its present area (HASKINS, *The American Government*, p. 381. Philadelphia and London, 1911).

The city was planned by a French engineer, Pierre Charles l'Enfant, who had served in the Revolutionary War.

The White House, designed by James Hoban, an Irish architect, was begun in 1792, and was first occupied by President Adams, in 1814. It was rebuilt in 1818. When it was provided for in the original design of the city it was known as The Palace. "After it was burned by the British it was painted white, and in popular parlance was soon called by its now familiar name, although officially it was known as "The Executive Mansion" until Mr. Roosevelt became its occupant" (HASKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 383)

NOTE 39 (p. 45). Whitmarsh was among the gifts of land received by the Jesuits from private parties. "The estate of Whitmarsh 2,000 acres in Prince George's County was devised to the Society by James Carroll (February, 1728, O. S.). This gentleman was a cousin and godfather of Charles Carroll, second of the Maryland line bearing that name. The devise by him in favor of the Fathers was effectual; and the land-sharks of the time seem to have left alone." (HUGHES *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Text, vol. II, p. 495. London and New York, 1917).

A contemporaneous report gives the following details of the Catholic missions in Maryland, about 1765. "The mission of the Assumption commonly called St. Inigoes, a plantation of 2,000 acres, was the residence of a single missionary, who was supported by the produce of the place, amounting to ninety pounds. At St. Xavier's mission, Newton, were three fathers. Fifteen hundred acres here yielded eighty pounds for their support. At St. Ignatius mission, Portobacco, were three missionaries. The plantation of 4,400 acres produced one hundred and eighty-eight pounds. The mission of St. Francis Borgia, at Whitmarsh with 3,500 acres, gave one hundred and eighty pounds for the maintenance of the two missionaries, Rev. John Lewis and an assistant. The mission of St. Joseph at Deer Creek in the northern part of Maryland, had 127 acres, producing twenty-four pounds for the support of the Father stationed there; and that of St. Stanislaus, at Fredericktown, had three lots, as yet /unproductive. The missionary, Rev. John Williams, who remained there till July 27, 1798, depended upon a yearly allowance of thirty pounds from the Superior. The mission of St. Mary's at Queenstown, or Tuckahoe, had now become the residence of one priest, Father Joseph Moseley, who had eighteen pounds from a plantation of 200 acres for his support. The mission of St. Xavier at Bohemia, on the eastern shore, where the classical school gave young Carroll his first insight into literature, had at this time only a single priest. The extensive plantation of 1,500 acres yielded an income of one hundred and eight pounds" (SHERR, *op. cit.* pp. 67-69).

A pound currency in those days was approximately \$2.70. A pound sterling was worth more.

NOTE 40 (p. 48). Frederick was first settled in 1745 and was incorporated in 1817. In 1765 Washington met Braddock here to prepare for the expedition against the French. Near by, Robert Strawbridge, in 1764, organized "the first Methodist Church in Maryland and America." Cfr. POWELL, *Historic Towns of the Southern States*. New York 1900.

NOTE 41 (p. 48). After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the Rev. Nicholas Paccanari founded at Rome, August, 1797, "The Society of the Faith of Jesus," intending to revive the rule and spirit of St. Ignatius. Pope Pius VI encouraged his undertaking, and a similar association, "The Society of the Sacred Heart", founded in Germany, united with his institute in 1799 (SHMA, *op cit.*, p. 501).

This must not be confused with the great community of women founded by Father Léonor de Tournély and Father Varin, the first convent of which was opened at Amiens, France, under Mademoiselle Loquet in 1801, who later was joined by Madame Sophie Barat.

NOTE 43 (p. 50). Father Zocchi was first sent to Canada, but the British government were not favorably disposed towards him and he was obliged to abandon the attempt. He came to Baltimore in 1803, and succeeded Prince Gallitzin (Father Smith) at Taneytown in 1805.

NOTE 43 (p. 49). Jean Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus was born at Mayenne, France, January 28, 1768, and was ordained, by dispensation, before he was twenty-three. He became assistant to an uncle who was pastor at Mayenne, receiving faculties also to act as Vicar-General. Refusing to take the oath prescribed by the National Assembly, he escaped to London in disguise. He learned English in a short while and became pastor of a congregation. Invited by his friend Father Matignon to come to America, he landed in Boston, October 3, 1796. He immediately wrote to Bishop Carroll: "Send me where you think I am most needed without making yourself anxious about the means of supporting me. I am willing to work with my hands, if need be, and I believe I have strength enough to do it".

He remained with Father Matignon in Boston until July, 1797, when he set out on a mission to Maine. On his way he visited the scattered Catholics between Boston and the Penobscot. He reached Point Pleasant, July 30, 1797, and took possession of his bark house and church, which had no window and no furniture; the altar-piece was formed of two pieces of red and blue cloth. He was assured of some support, however, as the General Court of Massachusetts appropriated two hundred dollars a year for a Catholic missionary who should reside

alternately at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. He visited Old Town in June, 1798, where he found a bark chapel, but no vestments, and a crucifix, and a bell hanging from a post nearby. Having put these missions in order he proceeded to Damariscotta Bridge where he said Mass in a barn belonging to the Hon. Matthew Cottrill (HAMON, *Vie du Cardinal de Cheverus*, pp. 43-80. Paris, 1858).

Father Cheverus visited Maine regularly, and found a welcome in the home of Edward Kavanagh, at Damariscotta.

NOTE 44 (p. 57). Rev. James Romagné, a native of Mayenne, a fellow-townsmen of Father Cheverus, and like him an exile from France in England, came to Maine at the solicitation of the latter in 1804, and for nearly twenty years labored among the Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. In addition to his active pastoral work, Father Romagné compiled several works in the Algonquin language for the use of the Indians (PILLING, *Bibliography of the Algonquin Languages*, pp. 437-38. Washington, 1891).

NOTE 45 (p. 58). The Susquehanna in early ecclesiastical records is spelled sometimes Sesquahanock, and occasionally Sequanock. The property here belonged to the Jesuits and was a deed of gift by Thomas Shea in 1764. The property consisted of 115 acres (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, p. 495).

NOTE 46 (p. 59). Demetrius Augustine Gallitsin (or Golyzin), prince, priest, and missionary, born at the Hague, Holland, December 22, 1770, was the son of Prince Demetrius Gallitsin, Russian ambassador to Holland and the Countess Amalie von Schmettau, and was baptized in the Greek Orthodox Church. He was brought up to strict discipline and was educated by the best masters of the time. He became a Catholic in his seventeenth year. After completing his education, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Austrian General von Lillien. Accompanied by his tutor, Father Brosius, he arrived in America, October, 1792. To avoid the inconvenience of traveling as a Russian prince, he assumed the name of Schmidt, or Smith, and for many years was known in the United States as Augustine Smith. He became impressed with the needs of priests in America and offered himself to Bishop Carroll as an ecclesiastical student. He entered St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, as one of its first students and was ordained on March 18, 1795: "being the first to received in the limits of the original thirteen of the United States all the orders from tonsure to priesthood".

The first years of his ministry were spent at Baltimore and in the scattered missions of southern Pennsylvania, northern Maryland and in Virginia, and later (1796) he was stationed at Conewago. In 1799 he commenced his career as pioneer priest of the Alleghanies. He erected a

church and house of logs ; and in a letter to Bishop Carroll, dated February 9, 1800, he writes: "Our church which was only begun in harvest-got finished fit for service the night before Christmas. It is about 40 feet long by 25, built of white pine logs with a very good shingle roof, I kept service in it as Christmas for the first time. There is also a house built for me 15 feet by 14, besides a little kitchen and a stable". Father Gallaisin's seal was extraordinary ; and one of his biographers writes : " What now (1869) constitutes the diocese of Pittsburg, Erie, and a large part of the Harrisburg new episcopal see, was then the missionary field of a single priest, Rev. Prince Gallitsin. If we except the station at Youngstown, Westmoreland County, where the Rev. Mr. Browers had settled a few years before, there was not, from Conewago, in Adams County, to Lake Erie — from the Susquehanna to the Potomac — a solitary priest, church, or religious establishment of any kind when he opened his missionary career". (HEYDEN, *Life and Character of Rev. Prince Demetrius A. Gallitsin*. Baltimore, 1869).

He was not only a pastor of his flock but also a benefactor. He invested moneys received from abroad and contracted loans (which later caused him serious difficulties) in purchasing large tracts of land, and built at his own expense sawmills, grist-mills and established other industries for the benefit of his people. It is estimated that he spent \$150,000 of his inheritance in the establishment of the Catholic Colony on the Alleghanies. During a long pastorate he never received a cent of salary ; he maintained himself, his household, and the many orphans whom he sheltered, and abundantly supplied the wants of the needy among his flock out of the produce of his farm.

He became financially embarrassed owing to the forfeiture of his Russian estates and the death of his sister Princess Marianne Gallitsin, and toward the close of his life had to bear the burden of a huge debt and disaffection among people whom he had served faithfully for forty years. (HART, "The Apostles of Alleghanies," in *Catholic World*, April 1895; SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 290, 443-7, 512, New York, 1886; and KITTELL, *Souvenir of Loretto Centenary*. Cresson, Pa., 1899.)

NOTE 47 (p. 60). This presumably is intended for Rev. William Pasquet de Lyde, an exile from San Domingo.

Bohemia is one of the most interesting sections of the country from an educational viewpoint.

In 1660 Augustine Hermann, a wealthy Bohemian, obtained from Lord Baltimore a grant of land in Maryland which, in memory of his native land, he named "Bohemia Manor". Hermann, later became an adherent of Labbadism — a sect founded by Jean de Labadie, who had

been successively a Jesuit, a Jansenist, and an apostate. The Labbadist^s became extinct about 1727, and the property was subsequently purchased by the Jesuits, who opened a school there in 1745 under the direction of Father Thomas Poulton.

"It was classical and commercial, Mr. Wayt, the schoolmaster receiving 40 shillings currency per annum for each of the boys who learned Latin, 30 shillings per annum from the rest. The names of the boys, as they occur in the oldest extant memoranda, for 1745 and subsequent years, are those of James Heath, Whetherspoon, George Boyes, Benedict Neale, Edward Neale, John Carroll (the future Archbishop of Baltimore), Lopez, Brent..... The education in Maryland fitted the boys for humane studies at St. Omer's College, in Flanders. Robert Brent, John Carroll, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Stanislaus Hoxton, and Wharton, took shipping on the Potomac to go and prosecute their studies at St. Omer's." (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, pp. 520-21).

"Of this school, which may be called the predecessor of Georgetown, no history is preserved ;; even the building, in which it was held was pulled down fifty years ago" *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. II, p. 4; DEVIET, E. I., S. J. "Bohemia" in *Records Cath. Hist. Soc.*, XXIII, p. 7).

NOTE 48 (p. 60). St. Mary's was founded by Leonard Calvert, March 27, 1634.

"St. Mary's was the home, the chosen home, of the disciples of the Roman Church... It was sustained by the traditions of two hundred years, and by volumes of written testimony ; by the records of the courts ; by the proceedings of the Privy Council... and by the very names originally given to the towns and hundreds of creeks and riverlets to the tracts and manors of the county" (DAVIA, *The Day Star of American Freedom*, p. 149. New York, 1855).

St. Mary's was once the capital of the Maryland Colony, but the seat of the Government was subsequently removed to Anne Arundell (now Annapolis). On September 19th, 1704, Governor Seymour gave the death blow to St. Mary's ; he ordered the chapel there to be locked up by the sheriff who was "to keep the key thereof". Of its subsequent fate, there is nothing to tell ; but "according to the tradition of the Catholics of St. Mary's County, a barn occupies the site of the first chapel reared for the worship of Almighty God in Maryland" (SHMA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 356. New York, 1866).

"It was to the interest of the new government, to destroy, as far as possible the cherished recollections which were associated with the departed proprietary power ; and there was no object so intertwined with these recollections as this ancient city consecrated by the landing of the colonists, endeared to the natives as the first home of their fathers and exhibiting, at every step, the monuments of that gentle and liberal

legislation which had called up a thriving colony out of a trackless wilderness." (McMAHON, *Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, p. 73. Baltimore, 1837).

NOTE 49 (p. 6). Bishop Carroll initiated the movement for the establishment of a public library in Baltimore ; and a Library Company which he was instrumental in organizing gathered a splendid collection of books, many of which are still preserved by the Maryland Historical Society. The Bishop was also active in the formation of "The Maryland Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge", organised in 1800 (SCHAEF, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 227. Baltimore, 1874).

NOTE 50 (p. 63). Yellow fever, known as "the plague", seems to have been brought into the Atlantic States of North America from the West Indies, where it was first definitely recognised in 1647. It was not peculiar to Pennsylvania, though its ravages there from 1790 to 1800 were frightful. In a pastoral issued by Bishop Carroll, in 1800, he says: "Since its first appearance in the year 1793 the American Church has suffered by this alone the loss of eight of the most useful, and, in every respect, most valuable pastors of souls, besides six or seven others, who contracted the disease, and were reduced to the point of death, so that their recovery appears rather a miracle of God's fatherly beneficence, than the effect of natural cause. Among those who died in Philadelphia were the coadjutor-elect, Rev. Lawrence Graessl, the able Dominicans, Francis Anthony Fleming and Francis V. [Thomas] Keating" (SUMA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 410. New York, 1886).

Philadelphia seems to have been more severely visited by this disease than any other section of the country.

"Whether or not it was a judgment of God on the lawlessness, immorality, and religion that made a scandal of Philadelphia, there broke out in the city (in 1793) a dreadful plague of yellow fever that checked and brought to their senses the disorderly element and averted the political calamity that threatened the new nation. Without doubt the plague was introduced by a large number of fugitives from the West India where the yellow fever raged.

"So dreadful was the disease, so revolting and rapid in its progress and so generally fatal in its results, that a panic seized the city. All who could, fled from the contagion, and it is estimated that of the fifty thousand inhabitants about twenty-three thousand left the city." (KIRKIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, pp. 138-50. Philadelphia, 1909)

NOTE 51 (p. 65). There were Catholics in Philadelphia before 1700, one of them, George W. Nixon, being there as early as 1696. There were two settlements of French included in Philadelphia's environs. Peter Dubuc, who died in 1693, bequeathed one hundred pounds to the poor of Philadelphia and "the sum of fifty pounds, silver money, to

Father Smith, now or late of Talbot County". The "Father Smith" alluded to was the *alias* of Rev. Thomas Harvey, S. J., also known as "Thomas Barton". Father Harvey was a frequent visitor to Philadelphia. In 1707 Lionel Brittin, with several others, was received into the Church. Brittin's conversion was widely discussed, and it is quite probable that this house was used by the Jesuits for "stations" on their way through Philadelphia from New York to Maryland. There is, however, no record of their names or dates of their visits, during the subsequent years until about 1720, when the Rev. Joseph Greaton, S. J., was given charge of the Catholics of Philadelphia. Within the next decade there was a large immigration to the city, the immigrants being mainly Germans and Irish, but few were Catholics. Among the few were several Irish schoolmasters. Father Greaton, on May 15, 1733, secured a property near "the Almhouse" and built his modest two-story house of brick, in the style of the day, and the chapel 18 by 28 feet in dimension. The two buildings were connected, as are the Church and Rectory of the present St. Joseph's. Tiny and unpretentious as was the first St. Joseph's chapel, named by Father Greaton in honor of his patron, it was epoch-making at the first public chapel erected in British America (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

"When the Jesuit Father Joseph Greaton built his chapel in Philadelphia, and began there the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, the Governor Thomas Penn made the announcement of this portentous occurrence to the provincial council on July 25, 1754. This he did with 'no small concern'. He conceived 'the public exercise of that religion to be contrary to the laws of England, some of which, particularly the 11th and 12th of King William III, are extended to all his Majesty's dominions'... Catholics did suppose that they were protected by the Charter of Privilege granted to Pennsylvania. But, it was observed, the charter limited its privileges to what was not 'inconsistent with the laws of England'. On July 31, the council met again, Penn himself not being present. They read the Charter of Privileges, and they pondered on the law concerning liberty, passed in the province so late as the fourth year of Queen Anne, which was about six years after that of William III. The later provincial Act of Liberty seemed to render impracticable any prosecution under the English one of William III. The governor was, in consequence, left to consult 'our Superiors at home' if he thought fit." (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, p. 182).

In 1741 Father Greaton received an assistant, Rev. Henry Neale, a priest of the Society of Jesus, who arrived there March 21. Later in the year came Father Theodore Schneider and Father Wappeler, who ministered to the German population in the outlying districts.

Father Neale represented the sad condition of Catholics in Pennsylvania to Sir John James of London, a convert who was a generous contributor to the missionary work of the Church. By his will he established a fund known by his name of four thousand pounds, the income of which was to be applied "Forty pounds a year for two priests in London to assist ye poor, the rest for ye Jesuits for Missionaries in Pennsylvania, not comprising him that was before established in Philadelphia.

"In the report of the Rev. George Hunter, S.J., to the Rev. James Dennett, the English Provincial, the income of the Sir John James Fund is set down at eighty pounds distributed in equal amounts to St. Mary's Mission, Philadelphia; the Mission of St. John Nepomocene, Lancaster; the Mission of St. Francis Regis, Conewago, and the Mission of St. Paul at Goshenhoppen" (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

In 1756, an effort was made by the enemies of the Church to bring it into disrepute in Philadelphia by a series of forged letters which attempted to fasten disloyalty upon the Jesuits, and the design caused much excitement in official circles. It was stated by an English Lord to Mr. Fox (April 10, 1756) that "the forger is thought to be a priest". Governor Hardy of New York asserted the same to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, for he states: "I am also inclined to think the treasonable correspondence must have been carried on by some Roman Catholics; I have heard you have an ingenious Jesuit in Philadelphia." (HASARD, *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol II, p. 694, Philadelphia, 1852.)

The "ingenious Jesuit" was Father Robert Harding of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia. John Adams used to attend the services at this church. Writing to his wife, he says, among other things which were eulogistic of the services: "Here is everything which can lay hold of the ear and imagination — everything which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell?" The ignorance which John Adams manifested was typical of the impressions prevailing Protestants at the time. "This was on the eve of the Revolutionary War. In the height of the Revolutionary War, the National Congress, the general officers and citizens attended a Requiem Mass in the same church, for the repose of the soul of Don Juan de Miralles, Spanish Agent. It was reported that Mr. Huntington, President of the Congress, took holy water from M. de la Luserne, the French resident agent, and sprinkled himself therewith, the other members of the Congress following their President's example. (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, X, p. 56).

NOTE 52 (p. 66). "The French refugees from France and St. Domingo were deeply imbued with revolutionary ideas... and the atheism which they preached was accepted, while sacred things were held up to ridicule by the French infidels and their followers." (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 137).

In the spring of 1795, the Irish Augustinians came to Philadelphia, and Rev. Matthew Carr, who had come from St. Augustine's Convent, John Street, Dublin, to found the order in the United States, took up his residence with Father Leonard Neale at the priests' house in Willing's Alley. From there he sent out an appeal for funds to erect a church. On May 27, 1797, an indult was granted by the Holy See for the establishment of convents of the Augustinian Order in the United States, with the approbation of Bishop Carroll. Father Carr had meanwhile been joined by Father Rosseter, O.S.A., and Father Ennis. They remained with Father Neale until the completion of St. Augustine's, which was dedicated on June 7, 1801.

On February 27, 1788, the Germans, through Adam Premir, bought from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania a plot of ground on Sixth and Spruce Streets as a site for a church; and Bishop Carroll was notified of their action. He approved of their action; but in his letter he states: "As you undertake to raise your church at your own charge and with your own industry, it is possible you may have it in view to reserve to yourselves the appointment of its clergyman, even without the concurrence of the ecclesiastical superior. On this matter I request to hear again from you as I conceive it may involve consequences to religion of the most serious nature." (*Original MS. in Baltimore Archives.*)

Other correspondence followed, and a charter was granted October 4, 1788, under the title "The Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics, called the Church of the Holy Trinity in the City of Philadelphia", with the following as incorporators: George Ernest Lechler, Henry Horne, Christopher Shorty, Thony Hookey, Jacob Triem, James Oellers, Charles Bauman, and Adam Premir. The building was formally dedicated November 22, 1789, with the Rev. John Charles Heilbron as pastor. The first record at Holy Trinity was a baptism, which he signed as *Primus Curator*. In 1791, Father Heilbron's brother Peter came as assistant to Holy Trinity. The former set out for Spain in the autumn of the same year to collect funds and was never after heard of. His brother Peter, then became pastor. In 1793 Rev. Lawrence Phelan was appointed assistant.

In the summer of 1796 Rev. John Nepomocene Goetz came to Philadelphia and applied to Father Carroll for admission as a priest of the Diocese of Baltimore. He was accepted and appointed as assistant to Father Heilbron. This did not satisfy Father Goetz, and he "protested and declared he did not wish to be assistant to Father Heilbron but co-pastor with him with equal rights." (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 152.)

A serious difficulty ensued, and Father Heilbron was deposed by the trustees. To avoid further scandal he retired to St. Joseph's Church,

October 15, 1796, where he held services for the members of the congregation who remained faithful to him. Goetz was appointed pastor by the trustees, and he took as assistant Rev. William Elling who had formerly been in charge at Lancaster and Goshenhoppen. He had also been in New York, where he acted for a while as assistant at St. Peter's. The "air of New York did not agree with him", so he went to Reading and on November 1, 1796, came to Philadelphia as assistant to Goetz and acted as schoolmaster. They were now in open schism, and both were publicly excommunicated by Bishop Carroll toward the end of February, 1797. Elling and Goetz quarreled, Goetz resigned as pastor of the congregation, and Elling, abetted by the trustees, remained in revolt. Bishop Carroll visited Philadelphia, hoping to adjust the difficulty; but immediately on his arrival he was "served with a writ and brought into court like a criminal, there to hear from the lawyer of the schismatics' church, as he himself states, the foulest abuse of the Catholic Church, its laws, doctrine, pastors, government, the Pope, the Council of Trent, etc., as if they had ransacked all Protestant libraries to defame it." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-20.)

In 1799 Father Heilbron left Philadelphia to succeed another schismatic, Fromm, at Sportsman's Hall, "nine miles from Greensburg, the name of which he changed to Clear Spring where is now the present large Benedictine Abbey, Westmoreland, Pennsylvania." (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 157.)

The schism continued till the beginning of 1802, when Elling and the trustees yielded. The submission having been made in due form to the Vicar-General, Rev. Matthew Carr, Elling was appointed pastor of Holy Trinity Church and peace once more reigned there.

NOTE 53 (p. 69). Dickinson College, an institution founded in 1783 under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church at Carlisle, was chartered by the General Assembly of the State, and named after John Dickinson "in memory of the great and important services rendered to his country, and for the commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution. The college began its work on April 6, 1784. In 1798 the present site of the college, comprising a town square, was purchased from the Penns for \$150. In numerous instances it has received pecuniary assistance from the legislature, and once \$14,000. by a lottery." (HAYWARD, *A Gazetteer of the United States of America*, p. 693. Hartford, Ct., 1853.)

NOTE 54 (p. 69). The foundations of the Catholic Mission at Carlisle were laid by Rev. Lucas Geissler. The first chapel is said to have been a log house on Ponfret Street, and it was used by the Catholics till the present church of St. Patrick was completed in 1808. (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 292.)

NOTE 55 (p. 72). Conewago is a modified form of the Indian "Caughnawaga", meaning "the rapids". There are two rivers Conewago: the Big Conewago drains the slope east of the Blue Ridge and flows into the Susquehanna; the little Conewago winds through the lower valley and empties into the Big Conewago. "Conewago Chapel is the parent church from which the Catholic religion spread over southern and western Maryland into Virginia, along the frontiers of Pennsylvania, into the very heart of the settlement, of Philadelphia itself. The churches at Hanover, Littlestown, Bonneauville, Tanneytown, Gettysburg, Millers-town, The Mountain, Carlisle, Harrisburg, York, Paradise, and New Oxford, are all fruits of the Conewago Missionary labors." (REILY, *Conewago. A Collection of Catholic Local History*, p. 27. Martinsburg, Va. 1885).

The mission at Conewago was not visited regularly by any priest prior to 1740, but it was visited occasionally by Jesuits from Harford County in Maryland. The first resident pastor of Conewago, or Mission of St. Francis Regis, seems to have been Father Pellentz, S.J., who died at Conewago March 13, 1800. "He most likely made Conewago his home from 1758 to 1768, and went out on the surrounding missions — Frederick, Hagerstown, and the valleys along the mountains." (*Ibid*, p. 52.)

Among the names of priests attending Conewago from the time of Father Pellentz' occupancy we find the Rev. Fathers Brosius, Maunly, or Manly, Cerfoumont, Erntzen, Mertz, and Zocchi. Of Father Maunly nothing is known, Father Cerfoumont attended the mission for nineteen years, Mertz, from August 1803 to 1805. Prince Gallitsin also attended Conewago. He went there shortly after his ordination in 1795.

NOTE 56 (p. 73). The Rev. Adolphus Lewis de Barth was the son of Count de Barth and Maria Louisa de Rhone; born at Munster, Upper Rhine, November 1, 1764, and ordained at Strasbourg, in 1790. Driven from France by the Revolution, he came to America with his father shortly before 1800; labored at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, in 1795; at Lancaster a number of years. He is mentioned at Conewago in 1804, 1809, and 1815. "He was very severe and strict." (REILY, *op. cit.*, p. 157.)

NOTE 57 (p. 75). The site of this seminary was at the foot of Pigeon Hills, in Oxford Township, about five miles north of Hanover, and still goes by the name of the "Seminary Farm." The land was originally taken up by warrant from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, issued July 26, 1750, to Henry Gearnhart [or Kingheart], illegible in old deed) and descended to the Lolimores. It contained about 273 acres, and was conveyed to Joseph Heront, April 4, 1794, for one thousand

pounds. . . He improved the property, opened a select school and called it 'Hercotford' . . . Mr. Harent, or Heront as spelled in the old deeds, was an exile from France during the first French Revolution. As a layman he was known throughout Adams County as "the monk of Herontford". On the Feast of the Assumption, 1806, the Abbé Dilhet, a Sulpician, founded at Pigeon Hills a college intended to give a religious education to boys whose piety and qualities seemed to show a decided vocation for the priesthood. Conewago furnished some of the students. About 1807 or 1809 Rev. John Dubois founded St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. In the spring of 1809, sixteen scholars were transferred from Pigeon Hills to the Mountain School. (See MELINE — MCSWEENEY, *The Story of the Mountain*. Emmitsburg, 1911, p. 17.)

"Among the friends of the Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore was a gentleman from Lyons, a Monsieur Harent. Like the Sulpicians, he was a refugee, expelled from the land of his birth by the excess of the Revolution. He must have saved some of his fortune, however, for after his arrival in Baltimore he had enough means left to buy a farm in Adams County, Pennsylvania, in the midst of a German population. . . He often asked Father Nagot to pass his vacation on his farm, which was called Pigeon Hill. After the re-establishment of the order in France by Napoleon, M. Harent felt homesick, and in 1803 he returned to France, leaving to Father Nagot his Pennsylvania farm. . . The Superior of St. Mary's naturally thought this the very spot for a Sulpician preparatory seminary. He resolved to put his hand to the plow himself, and in 1806 began the experiment. . . He found about a dozen pupils among the Germans scattered throughout the neighborhood, to whom for two years the veteran professor of theology and philosophy undertook to teach the rudiments of Latin. Nevertheless it was not destined to last, for in 1808 M. Nagot returned to Baltimore. Pigeon Hill had been given up, or rather consolidated with a new institution, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. Of the students of Pigeon Hill three became priests, namely Messrs. Moynahan, Schoenfelder, and Wheeler" (HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, pp. 125-26. New York, 1916).

NOTE 58 (p. 75). The Father Heilbron mentioned here was a Capuchin, who, with his brother, John Charles and others of the same Order, "had been moved to come to America by a letter sent by Paul Millar of Conewago, which was published in the *Mainzerschrift von Geistlichen Sachen*, in 1785. . . The brothers Heilbron exercised their priestly functions at Philadelphia while waiting permanent appointments. . . Father Peter Heilbron was soon appointed to Goshenhoppen, Berks County." (KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 120.)

We have seen elsewhere that Father Heilbron had come from Goshenhoppen, as assistant at Holy Trinity Church, to his brother, Father John Charles, in 1791, and that on the latter's disappearance, he had become pastor, but resigned after the Goets difficulty. In 1799 he succeeded the schismatic Fromm, who had seized the property of the church which Rev. Theodore Brouwers had purchased at Sportsman's Hall, nine miles from Greensburg. Fromm had been ousted from the estate by a decision of the Court of Common Pleas of the Fifth Circuit of Philadelphia. When Father Heilbron got possession of Sportsman's Hall, he wrote to Bishop Carroll: "My dwelling shall no more be called Sportsman's Hall, but "Clear Spring, Near Greensburg." (SMA, *op. cit.*, p. 451.)

"As there was yet no church, for a long time he offered up the Holy Sacrifice in a room in his own log-house. But his labors were not confined to this settlement alone. Others had now begun to spring up in different parts of the country, and the whole of these, now constituting the diocese of Pittsburg, Alleghany, and Erie were for several years ministered to by him and Dr. Gallitsin. The principal of these were Shade Valley, Sinking Valley, Frankstown, Bedford, Loretto, Sportsman's Hall, Jacob's Creek, Waynesburg, Brownsville, Pittsburg, Donegal, and Oil Creek. . . . About the year 1810 a hewed-log church 26 by 40 feet was built, and was the first church, properly speaking in the settlement." (LAMING, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Alleghany*, p. 366. New York, 1880.)

Father Heilbron died at Carlisle in the autumn of 1816 or in the early days of 1817. (*Ibid.* p. 367.)

NORM 59 (p. 75). Pittsburg has a most interesting ecclesiastical history. The beginnings of the Catholic Church date from Celoron's expedition in 1749. He arrived on the banks of the "Beautiful River", the name by which the Ohio was known to the French, some time toward the middle of August, of the same year. During the expedition Celoron was accompanied by Rev. Joseph Peter Bonsecamps, of the Society of Jesus, who, in addition to his office of chaplain, made observations of latitude and longitude and noted the flora and fauna of the regions through which the expedition passed. Father Bonsecamps taught higher mathematics and hydrography in the Jesuit College of Quebec both before and after this expedition. To him is due the honor of having first offered the Holy Sacrifice in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, the early name of which was Fort Duquesne, so named in honor of the then Governor of Quebec, the Marquis Duquesne. (*Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania Principally Catholic*, vol. I, No. I, July 1884.)

"The first place of public worship within this territory was a chapel erected by the French in the stockade of Fort Duquesne, after Captain Contrecoeur, and his forces had driven Ensigns Ward and Frazier from the fort they were erecting at the fork of the Ohio. This chapel was built at some time later than 16 April, 1754, and dedicated under the title of the 'Assumption of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River'... The first white child born on the site of the city of Pittsburg was John Daniel Norment, the entry of the baptism being signed by 'Friar Denys Baron, Recollect Priest, Chaplain'. The register of baptisms and internments which took place at Fort Duquesne begins 11 July, 1753 and ends 10 October, 1756." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, p. 121. New York, 1911).

The British took possession of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and the place was named Pittsburg, or Fort Pitt, after William Pitt, Prime Minister of England. Following the English occupation, we find no records of Catholicism until 1785, when the Rev. Ferdinand Farmer wrote from Philadelphia to the Very Rev. John Carroll, under date of July 19: "There is a young man in town from Pittsburg with a petition to have a visit from a missionary once a year. This is with a joint petition bearing the names of about seventy Roman Catholics living on or near the Monongahela, living in three places, Muddy Creek, Ten Mile Waters and Shitoe Waters. The chief among them seems to be Felix Hughes." (LAMBING, *Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese*, p. 61. Wilkesburg, 1914.)

Owing to scarcity of priests, Dr. Carroll was unable to meet the request. There is no record of any visitation by a priest till Pittsburg was visited by Pierre Huet de la Valinière, who, during his wanderings visited it in 1786. Next came the Carmelite Paul de Saint Pierre. He was followed by Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, who seems to have been in Pittsburg, in the early summer of 1787, whilst on his way to the missions of Kentucky. The most noted of all the early priest visitors was Benedict Joseph Flaget, the future Bishop of Bardonia, who remained in Pittsburg for nearly six months. (SPALDING, *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget*, p. 32. Louisville, 1852.)

In the fall of 1793, Rev. Stephen Badin and Rev. M. Barrière were at Pittsburg for a short while. "They travelled on foot to Pittsburg. Then in a small boat, well-armed, they descended the Ohio, past Wheeling and Marietta to Gallipolis." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 455.)

Next came Rev. Michael Fournier, who, on his way to Kentucky, in the winter of 1796-7, was detained for fourteen weeks at Fort Pitt, but though he said Mass for the Catholics every Sunday, they were so indifferent that, out of more than a hundred, only six ever came to enjoy

the privilege of being present at the august sacrifice. They professed, however, an intention of building a church and applying to the Bishop for a pastor. Two priests on their way to Natches, Rev. Messrs. Maguire and Bodkin, also wintered at this time in Pittsburg." (*Ibid.*, p. 453.)

After Father Heilbron took up his residence at "Sportman's Hall", in the latter part of 1799, he visited Pittsburg at least twice a year. The first resident pastor of Pittsburg was Rev. William F. X. O'Brien, a native of Maryland, whose first entry in the baptismal register occurs under date of November 8, 1808, and he immediately "set about building St. Patrick's Church." (LAMBING, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

NOTE 60 (p. 76). After the failure of the Gallipolis colony on the Scioto, the colonists dispersed and "little knots of them appear on the map from the Atlantic seaboard to civilization's last outposts in Trans-Mississippi, and from Detroit and Canada to and across the Mexican border". One of the leaders, Marnesia, bought 400 acres in the State of Pennsylvania, and established a settlement which he called Asylum, near Towanda, in Bradford County. The name is still to be seen on the older maps, on the Susquehanna River, some 10 miles below Towanda. He invited his countrymen to come and settle there; and in 1794, several families came from Paris, others from San Domingo, with whom came a number of mechanics and negroes. "Refugees from the insurgent negroes of San Domingo came; and from France the Viscount de Noailles, the Marquis Antoine Omer Talon, and the Prince de Talleyrand took up residence on the Susquehanna. The future king, Louis Philippe, visited the place in 1796 and found it a hamlet of about 200 inhabitants." (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. IV., p. 438.)

"They were also attended by several priests — the Abbé de Bec-de-Lièvre, formerly a canon in Brittany; the Abbé Carles, canon of Quercy; the Abbé de Sévigny, Archdeacon of Toul; and the Abbé Fromentin, of Etampes. Mr. Norez, a graduate of the Holy Chapel and possessor of a small priory, although not in orders, was another of the party. The abbés of Asylum never asked the Bishop for faculties to exercise the ministry in America; and thinking only of the goods of this world, became grocers, or farmers. In a spot which contained four priests, Mass was never offered. They never even thought of arranging a place for a chapel where the settlers might meet morning or evening, to raise up their hearts to God. No worship was practiced among these brilliant officers, their companions and children; and this shows how far the philosophy of Voltaire had spread its ravages in the hearts of families. As soon as the nobles and the clergy could return to France, the more influential of the colonists of Asylum hastened to leave America. There remained in Bradford County only the farmers and mecha-

nics ; and among the descendants of these at the present day, there is not a single Catholic." (DECOURCY-SHEA, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 294. New York, 1856.)

Amongst those who remained in the United States were two of the clerics, one, the Abbé Carles, destined to render excellent services to the Church in Georgia. The other, Fromentin, apostatized, married, removed to Louisiana, and became later a United States Senator. (See LA ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT, *Voyage dans les Etats Unis en 1795-7*, pp. 151-170, Paris, An. VII; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, VIII, p. 218 ; *Records of the American Historical Society*, vol. XVIII, pp. 261-421 ; INGHAM, *Asylum*. Towanda, Pa., 1916 ; and *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, vol. XII, pp. 50-3 ; XIV, pp. 167, 192. *Revue de Paris*, May 15, 1898.)

NOTE 61 (p. 76). At the outbreak of the French Revolution, some Trappists (Cistercians) sought refuge at Val Sainte in Switzerland, but were driven thence by the French troops. Whilst at Val Sainte Dom Augustin, who was novice-master, decided to send a band of his religious to Canada ; but, on arrival at Amsterdam, they were prevented by political troubles from departing, and divided into two parties, one of which settled at Westmalle in Belgium, while the other went to England, where they were received and aided by Thomas Weld of Lulworth Castle. Later they founded Mount Melleray in Dorsetshire. In 1802, Dom Augustin charged Father Urban with the foundation of the Order in the United States. Father Urban sailed from Amsterdam with twenty-four religious, lay brothers and members of the third order (an institution of Dom Augustin) on a Dutch vessel flying the American flag to avoid the risk of being captured, as a conflict was then imminent between Holland and England. They reached Baltimore on September 25, and were received at St. Mary's by the Sulpicians. After a residence there of some months, they went to Pigeon Hill. They remained there about eighteen months, and left for Kentucky in July 1805.

NOTE 62 (p. 79). It is believed that the first Mass was offered on Manhattan Island on October 30, 1683, by Father Thomas Harvey, the first Jesuit missionary in the future metropolis. He was later joined by Father Harrison and Father Gage, and their presence there "created a perilous state of things ; the more so, as they spoke also French and Dutch". These Fathers conducted a school of which complaint is made by Jacob Leisler, who had usurped the government, to the Governor of Boston : "I have formerly urged to inform your Honr., that Coll. Dongan in his time did erect a Jesuite Colledge, upon cullour to learn Latine to the Judges — West — Graham, Judge Palmer, and John Tudor did contribute their sons for sometimes no boddy

imitating them the college vanished." (O'CALLAGHAN, *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. II, p. 23. Albany, N. Y., 1840-1851.)

With the coming of William of Orange to the English throne after the Orange Revolution, the Jesuit left the city and betook himself to Maryland, but he was back again in New York in 1690 and remained there for several years under Governors Sloughter and Fletcher. Harvey died in Maryland in 1696. (See HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, pp. 151-152.)

Rigid penal laws forbade any public manifestation of the faith by Catholics in New York until 1785, when the English army evacuated the city; "and it is probable that Father Farmer, who had organized a congregation previous to the war, and who still resided at Philadelphia, seized the first opportunity to revisit his little flock of Catholics at New York, though it is impossible to fix the dates of his former visits. . . . In one of his letters he says that about the month of December, 1783, he spent five days among the Canadian (Acadian) refugees at Fishkill; and the missionary could hardly have gone from Philadelphia to Fishkill without passing through New York." (DECOURCY-SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 349.)

When Congress was transferred to New York, December 23, 1784, the city became the residence of foreign representatives, and the French and Spanish agencies were provided with chapels and of course with chaplains; and while Congress was in session Catholic members resided there.

Previous to this, however, the Rev. Charles Whelan, who had served, as chaplain with De Grasse's fleet, had come to New York and acted as chaplain to a Portuguese merchant; but he had no faculties from the Prefect Apostolic, as the latter had no power to grant them.

The one to whom the Catholics of this great city owe most is Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Consul-General of France. Though by no means a practical Catholic. . . he seems to have taken the lead in organizing the Catholics in the city. . . and in their name he applied, in April 1785, to the city authorities for the use of the Exchange on Broad street. . . but the Common Council refused to permit the Catholics to assemble there on Sunday." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-7).

On June 10, 1785, St. John de Crèvecoeur, José Ruiz Silva, James Stewart, and Henry Duffin were incorporated (presumably without ecclesiastical authorization) as "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York", and shortly afterward Father Whelan, acting on the advice of Mr. Silva, bought a lease of five lots, owned by the Trinity Corporation, at Barclay and Church streets. A carpenter shop on the plot was fitted up for divine service. On Wednesday, October 5, 1785, at the corner of Barclay and Church streets, in the

presence of a crowd of spectators, Don Diego de Gardoqui laid the corner-stone of the St. Peter's — the first Catholic Church in New York City. The building was to be of brick 48 feet front by 81 in depth. Petitions asking for funds were sent to the Kings of Spain and France, and in the following year, King Charles IV of Spain sent a contribution of \$1,000. (BENNETT. *Catholic Footprints in Old New York*, p. 373. New York, 1909. Cfr. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol I, pp. 68-77.)

In addition to Father Whelan, there were in the city at the time Father Huet de la Valinière, the ubiquitous Canadian Sulpician, and Father O'Connell, an Irish Dominican, who was chaplain to the Spanish Embassy : and in the latter part of 1785 another Franciscan, Father Nugent arrived, whose advent was the beginning of serious difficulties.

On the Feast of St. Charles Borromeo, November 4, 1786, St. Peter's was opened for divine service with a solemn Mass, at which the Spanish chargé d'affaires "occupied a place of distinction". Following the Mass, there was a banquet at the Spanish Embassy, and "after the banquet the chargé d'affaires gave (a long list of) toasts, arranged according to the circumstances and customs of the country". (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, p. 75.)

The breach between Father Whelan and Father Nugent widened and the former abandoned New York on February 12, 1786 : later we shall find him in the mission in Kentucky. The Prefect-Apostolic finally suspended Father Nugent, and "the trustees made a collection to pay the passage of their ex-pastor to France". In November 1787, Dr. Carroll appointed Father William O'Brien, an Irish Dominican from Dublin, to the pastorate of St. Peter's. Soon after assuming charge he went to Mexico to collect funds for the completion of St. Peter's and Father Nicholas Burke supplied during his absence, aided by Father O'Connell of the Spanish Legation. Between 1801 and 1805, the Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien, a Dominican, the Rev. John Byrne, and the Rev. Michael Hurley were assistants. The Cibourg mentioned was Father Louis Sibourd who later went to New Orleans.

Two other priests are mentioned as being in New York in 1797 — Rev. Ambrose Sougé and Rev. James Charles Halbout, Canon and Theologal of Dol, a refugee from France. After a short stay in New York, he proceeded to Connecticut, to become chaplain in the family of the Vicomte de Sibert Cornillon. He was associated in Hartford for a brief period with the Abbé J.-S. Tisserant "the friend and director of the saintly Mother Seton". The Rev. James Charles Halbout was in the city about seven months, and his name appears on the St. Peter's baptismal registers. " (BENNETT, *op. cit.*, p. 424 ; SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 437 ; and *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, I, p. 190.)

NOTE 63 (p. 81). We can find no record of "Mr. Kelly". The priests who visited, or resided at Albany from 1798 to 1806 were Dr. Matthew O'Brien, Dr. Cornelius O'Mahony, Rev. Luke Fitzsimmons, a Recollect from Montreal, Rev. John Byrne, and Rev. James M. Bushe (SHEA, *op cit.*, pp. 432-435.)

NOTE 64 (p. 81). Louis Stephen le Couteux de Caumont served in the Revolutionary War under Lafayette. After the war he settled in Pennsylvania, then went to Albany in 1798, removed to Buffalo in 1804, and died there in 1839. He deeded to Bishop Dubois, in 1828, the site of the first Catholic Church in Buffalo. (BENNETT, *op. cit.*, p. 379.)

The gentlemen whose name Dilhet did not know was Thomas Barry, "who laid the corner-stone of St. Mary's Church". He went to Canada to collect funds for St. Mary's, and Bishop Hubert commended him to the priests of his diocese. (*Mandements des Evêques de Québec*. Québec, 1887-88, II, p. 502.)

NOTE 65 (p. 84). We have no record of Dilhet's visits to any of the settlements in Northern New York beyond this statement. It is doubtful if he ever visited the settlements in question. From what we know of his missionary activities it seems safe to assert that his knowledge of the missionary societies was obtained from a representative of the "Connecticut Missionary Society," a Mr. Bacon, who resided in Detroit while Dilhet labored there as assistant to Father Richard.

The Connecticut Missionary Society is, as far as we know, the oldest missionary society in America, having been organized in June, 1795, at the annual meeting held in that year by the General Association of Connecticut. Its object was "to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements in the United States". In June 1800, the trustees determined that "a discreet man, animated by the love of God and souls, of a good common education, be sought for, to travel among the Indian tribes south and west of Lake Erie, to explore their situation and learn their feelings with respect to Christianity, and so far as he has opportunity to teach them its doctrines and duties". The discreet man was found in Mr. David Bacon, who trudged with his pack upon his back to Buffalo. Thence he took passage to Detroit. Here he learned "that the Wyandottes were mostly Catholics, and that there were no Indians 'south and west of Lake Erie'; he went to Harson's Island, at the head of Lake St. Clair, near which was quite an Indian settlement. After looking over the ground he returned to Detroit to attend an Indian Council held there under the presidency of General Tracy, and "was most favorably received". He then came back to Connecticut, and took unto himself a wife. On returning to Detroit he found that a Mr. Denhey, a Moravian missionary, desired to occupy the field

upon St. Clair River, and to this Mr. Bacon assented. Mr. Bacon then removed to Michilimackinac, the great center of Indian population in our territory, where he remained until August, 1804, perfecting himself in the language, teaching, preaching, and pursuing the other labors incidental to his mission. The Missionary Society found that the expenses of missionary work here were beyond their means, and in January, 1804, Mr. Bacon then went to the Western Reserve, and became the founder of the town of Talmadge, Ohio. "Thus ended this first Protestant effort to convert the Indians of Michigan to the faith of the cross" (*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXVIII, pp. 187-196, St. Louis, 1906.)

NOTE 66 (p. 88). John Thayer, the first native of New England to be ordained to the priesthood, was born at Boston, Mass., in 1755.

He was educated at Yale, became a Congregationalist minister and served as chaplain during the Revolutionary War in a company of which John Hancock was the commander. The account of his conversion to which Dilhet relates, was printed in 1787, and re-issued in several editions in the United States, in London, and in Ireland. A French translation may be found in Migne. (*Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique*, Tome XXXIII, pp. 1725 seqq. Paris, 1866.)

Thayer's enthusiasm manifests itself at an early date, and he writes to Bishop Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, under date of January 18, 1784, and tells him that "burning with zeal to impart to others that felicity" which he experiences, he offered himself to "ye Chief Pontiff for missions" in America. He is referred to the Nuncio at Paris, who does not seem to be impressed with Thayer's prudence. Notwithstanding the objections raised, Thayer decides to return to America and asks Bishop Talbot "to furnish him with the most able controversialists and other books, and he anticipates the "crosses" that are "prepared" for him. (*Westminster Archives*, vol. XIII, p. 45)

On arrival at Boston he entered into a controversy, an account of which was later published under the title: *Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. Georges Leslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire*. Philadelphia, 1795. Thayer left Boston in 1799, as "he failed as a pastor because of his erratic and contentious temper". He ministered for a short time at Alexandria, Virginia, whence he went to Kentucky as a missionary. "Here he remained for four years, his zeal, however, not compensating for his lack of policy and his infirmity of temper". He then came to New York, but the pastor of St. Peter's apparently did not regard him as a satisfactory assistant. His wanderings carried him again across the ocean in 1803 and he located at Limerick, where he died "locally esteemed as a priest of edifying life". The three daughters of his host,

a merchant named James Ryan, with whom he lived in Limerick, came to Boston in 1819 and there founded the Ursuline Community, whose convent, Mount Benedict, near Bunker Hill, Charlestown, was sacked and burned by an anti-Catholic mob on the night of August 11, 1834. (See Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, New York, 1872; *Cath. Hist. Magazine*, vol. II; Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884; and Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 387, 390, 396, 434, 439, 453, 457, 527, New York, 1886).

NOTE 67 (p. 90). There were Catholics in Boston before the advent of Thayer; there was also a Catholic church, dating from 1788. This church, however, was not built originally for Catholic service. It was an old Huguenot place of worship which had been transformed into a Catholic Church by a French priest, who appeared in Boston in 1788. This priest belonged to the diocese of Angers, France, and styled himself Claudius Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, "Priest, Doctor of Divinity, Clerck, and Apostolic missionary". He had faculties from Dr. Carroll. He opened the church on All Saints' Day, 1788, under the patronage of the Holy Cross, the "first Catholic Church in New England". De la Poterie was proved to be an unworthy priest, and was suspended by Dr. Carroll, the Prefect Apostolic, in the following year. (See *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, vol. III, p. 314, and vol. VII, p. 102).

After his suspension, De la Poterie went to Canada. He was succeeded as pastor of the Church in Boston by Rev. Louis Rousselet who also was suspended for irregularities by the Prefect-Apostolic. Rousselet then went to Guadeloupe, where he was put to death by the revolutionists. (*U. S. Catholic Magazine*, VIII, p. 104.)

Thayer succeeded Rousselet, but "failed" as a pastor, and in the spring of 1791 Dr. Carroll relieved him of his charge. When Thayer retired from the pastorate of the Boston Church, the Congregation numbered about one hundred and twenty. (*Ibid.*, p. 149.)

NOTE 68 (p. 90). The Rev. Francis A. Matignon was born in Paris in 1753, and after his ordination occupied the chair of Theology in the College of Navarre. He took refuge in England at the time of the French Revolution, and came to Boston August 20, 1792. "He soon disarmed all opposition and by his zeal and piety made an immediate success of his pastorate. In 1796 he invited the Abbé Cheverus to assist him. In 1798 Father Matignon secured a property on Franklin Street as a site for a new church, and among the subscribers to the project were several Protestant families headed by President John Adams. The church, which cost \$20,000, was ready for dedication September 29, 1803. Bishop Carroll assisted at the dedication. (SMNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 508, 612, 645.)

Father Matignon labored with great success in Boston till his death, September 18, 1818. (Compare FITTON, *Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England*, Boston, 1872; LEAHY, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, Boston, 1899.; CREAGH, *Laity's Directory*, New York, 1822; *American Catholic Historical Researches*, January, 1899, July, 1902; and *Memorial Volume, One Hundredth Anniversary Celebration of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross*, Boston, 1904.)

NOTE 69 (p. 93). Catholicism was introduced at an early date into the State of New Jersey; and the first Catholics were probably those who availed themselves of the grant made by Charles I, in 1632, to Sir Edmund Plowden, and of Plowden's conveyance in 1634 to Thomas Danby. As early as 1672 Fathers Harvey and Gage visited Woodbridge and Elizabethtown (then the capital of New Jersey). The names of Hugh Dunn, John and James Kelly, are found in Woodbridge in 1762. William Douglass, elected from Bergen in 1668, was excluded from the General Assembly because he was a Catholic, and later was banished to New England as a "troublesome person". When Andros was appointed governor of all New England, New York, New Jersey, and "of all the continent in America", the liberty which Catholics had formerly possessed, meagre though it was, ceased, and for a long period the atmosphere was intensely anti-Catholic. (See BROADHEAD, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. III, pp. 534, 537, 548. Albany, N. Y., 1856-61.)

Father Harding labored in New Jersey at intervals from 1762 to 1772. Father Schneider, who founded the German mission at Goshenhoppen, also made frequent "laborious excursions through New Jersey". The manuscript missal used by this zealous apostle is still preserved at Goshenhoppen, "a volume six inches wide, seven and a half long, and an inch thick, the handwriting clear and beautiful." (SWEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 66, New York, 1886.)

Father Ferdinand Farmer, whose family name was Steenmeyer, must be regarded as the true missionary of New Jersey in its early days. Father Farmer made frequent visits to New Jersey and attended to the spiritual needs of the Catholics at Mt. Hope, Macopin, Basking Ridge, Trenton, Ringwood, and elsewhere. (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Text, pp. 188, 216, 218, 501, 502, 602.)

During the Revolutionary War, Washington's army brought many Catholics into New Jersey. In the camp at Morristown, the Spanish agent, Don Juan de Miralles, died April 28, 1780, and his funeral was conducted by Father Seraphim Bandol, a Recollect, chaplain to M. Girard, the French Minister. The number of Catholics in New Jersey

about that time was estimated by Barbé de Marbois, the French Agent-General at New York, as between eight and nine hundred.

There were also many French refugees from the West Indies, and Fathers Vianney and Tisserant attended to them. Pierre Malou, who had been a general in the Belgian army, was a resident of Princeton from 1795 to 1799. After the death of his wife he became a Jesuit in Europe, but returned to America, and was stationed at Madison. (See FLYNN, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*. Morristown, 1904; ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*. Rochester, 1910.)

The earliest record of Catholicism in Delaware goes back to 1704 when "Father Mansell began the systematic development of a landed foundation at Bohemia." (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Documents, No. 96.)

In 1730 Cornelius Hallahan, an Irish Catholic, settled in Mill Creek Hundred, in New Castle County, on an estate called by him Cuba Rock. The first Catholic services were probably held in his house. Bohemia Manor School was a center of Jesuit mission activities after its foundation, and in 1760 the Rev. Mr. Reading, minister of Apoquinimunk, spoke of this school as being at the time "a very considerable Popish seminary in the neighboring province of Maryland", whence a Jesuit missionary had been used to come and say Mass at stated seasons in the adjoining district of Delaware. (See HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 520.)

In January, 1772, Father Matthew Sittensperger, *alias* Manners, purchased a farm in Mill Creek Hundred. On this property, known also as Coffee Run, a log-chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and a residence were put up, which served for many years. A number of refugees from St. Domingo settled in Wilmington after the negro uprisings in that island, in 1791, and with them came the Rev. Stephen Faure, to whom Bishop Carroll gave greater faculties. He was assisted by Rev. John Rosseter, an Augustinian, who had formerly been an officer in Rochambeau's army during the Revolution War. Father Faure died in Bohemia, August 21, 1798, and he was succeeded by Father Cibot, who had been Vice Prefect Apostolic of St. Domingo (*Records of Am. Cath. Hist. Society*, Philadelphia, 1887, I, pp. 139, 142.)

In 1800, St. Mary's at Mill Creek Hundred has as its pastor the Rev. Charles Whelan, who also attended Wilcox's Westchester, Jenkin's, and O'Neills'. He died in 1806.

In 1785, Delaware was one of the four states (the others being Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia) where Catholics were not virtually under disabilities. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. V., pp. 694-5).

NOTE 70 (p. 95). The first Catholic foundations in Virginia were Spanish. In 1523 Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, one of the judges of Santo Domingo, obtained from the Spanish Crown a patent to explore the coast of America to the north for eight hundred leagues and to form a settlement within three years. The patent, or cedula, obliged him to "attract the natives to receive preachers who would inform and instruct them in the affairs of our holy faith, that they might become Christians". Early in June, 1526, Ayllon sailed from Puerto de la Plata with three large vessels, carrying six hundred persons of both sexes, with abundant supplies and horses. He was accompanied by the Dominican Fathers Anthony de Montesinos and Anthony de Cervantes, and brother Peter de Estrada. In the early summer Ayllon reached the Chesapeake, and ascending the river established a settlement at Guandepe which he named St. Michael, or a short distance from where the English founded Jamestown in 1607. The settlement, however, was abandoned in the next year. (FERNANDEZ, *Historia Ecclesiastica de Nuestros Tiempos*, p. 24. Toledo, 1611.)

A second Spanish expedition, with which there were two Jesuit priests, Segura and de Quiros, and six brothers, settled on the Rappahannock, at a place called Axacan, September 10, 1570, but the members of the expedition, with the exception of one Indian boy, were butchered by the natives. (SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Times*, pp. 48-150, New York, 1886. See MAGRI, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Richmond*. Richmond, Va., 1906; and PARKE, *Catholic Missions in Virginia*. Richmond, Va., 1850.)

On March 1, 1648, two Jesuits, Fathers Copley and Lawrence Starkey, or Sankey, landed in Virginia, and not to attract too much attention they "lay hid". Copley later left for Maryland, but returned to Virginia. In September, 1655, we find Father Darby making his profession of the three vows; "the scene being a sunken hut or a covered hole in the same Virginia". They moved about secretly "alone in a skiff one or other would row to and from 'distant parts', no pilot but Divine Providence directing their course." (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, pp. 59-65.)

In addition to the Jesuits, we find mention of a Capuchin in Virginia in 1667, by name Alexander Plunkett. (LENHART, O. M. C. in the *Records Am. Cath. Soc.*, Philadelphia, XXVII, p. 191.)

A Father Edmonds, or Raymond, Father Cannon, and Father Hubbard, presumably Franciscans, and Father Gulick, a Jesuit, were in Virginia while Coode, an ex-parson, was acting Governor of Maryland after the Orange Revolution. He asked Bacon, President of the Council of Virginia, for surrender to his Majesty's representative, of Hubbard,

Cannon, and "one Gulick, a Jesuit". Edmonds was charged with performing each week the rites of the Church [of Rome] at "the house of Mr. Charles Egerton, the house of Captain Robert Jordan, and the house of Henry Asdick".

After the Orange Revolution Catholicism was doomed to death by most iniquitous laws. (DEVITT, E. I., in *American Catholic Researches*, XXV, (1908.)

Beyond the settlement at Aquia Creek on the southern shore of the Potomac, there were few Catholics in the Province. During the next half century we have scant record of missionary activities. "When Father John Carroll returned from Europe, in 1773, he went to reside with his mother at Rock Creek, Maryland, and from there could attend the district extending from his mother's house at Rock Creek to his brother-in-law Brent's mansion at Aquia Creek in Virginia, much more successfully than any other priest, and the Vicar-General apparently allotted the district expressly to him." (SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 86, New York, 1886.)

NOTE 71 (p. 96). Rev. John Dubois is said to have been in Norfolk in 1791, "where he labored for a few months". His successor was Rev. Michael James Bushe, who began the erection of a church in Norfolk, but he was forced to leave the mission owing to the opposition of the trustees. Father Bushe afterward labored in Albany, New York. Father Leonard Neale went to Norfolk in 1799, and endeavored to adjust the difficulties. He was followed in 1803 by Rev. Michael Lacy who "found a flock of less than forty families, a debt of \$600... no residence for a clergyman, the adults indifferent to their Christian duties, so that he could effect good mainly by catechizing the children." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-93.)

NOTE 72 (p. 97). Alexandria is said to have had a log structure as a Catholic Chapel previous to 1796, when a "generous benefactor gave the Catholic congregation a half-acre lot on which the Rev. Francis Neale erected a square brick building which was never completed. Rev. Mr. Eden became resident pastor about 1804, and he was followed by Rev. Mr. Gousy. About five years later Father Neale purchased for \$900. a Methodist meeting-house on Chapel Alley, where later a church was built by the pious bequest of Mr. Ignace Junigal. (CARNA, *Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va.*, in *Proceedings 4th Conv. of C. B. U. of Va.*, Norfolk, 1874.)

The Rev John Thayer was at Alexandria in 1794. He did not remain there, but went to Kentucky.

NOTE 73 (p. 97). A Catholic mission was begun at Richmond by Rev. John Dubois, in 1791. He officiated in a room at the Capitol.

After his removal to Frederick, in Maryland, Richmond seems to have had no regular attendant for many years. No effort had been made to build a church.

NOTE 74 (p. 98). Winchester was a mission of Hagerstown, Maryland, of which the first resident priest was Rev. Denis Cahill, "The early history of the Catholic Church in Winchester is almost entirely unknown. Perhaps the only certain fact about it is that it was one of the oldest churches in the Valley. From an old Gentleman, John Heist, a Protestant, it has been learned that in 1794, when he settled in Winchester, the Catholic Church was the oldest in the town. . . The ground was given by Mr. McGuire, an Irish gentleman, the ancestor of a family famous in Virginia as physicians and surgeons." (REILY, *Conewago. A Collection of Local History*, p. 159, Martinsburg, Va., 1885.)

NOTE 75 (p. 100). South Carolina has had a tragic Catholic history. Long before our story begins, the missionary activities of the Franciscan, Dominican, and other religious Orders had carried the light of civilization over a large portion of the New World. A quarter of a century after the foundation of their order, Spanish Jesuits landed in the territory of what is now the United States; and in 1568 Father John Rogel, of Pampeluna, with some of his fellow religious, landed at St. Helena Island, Port Royal Sound, South Carolina. After ministering to the Spanish settlers there, he entered the Indian town of Crista. Here he erected a church and a house. In the following year Father John B. Segura, invested by the General, St. Francis Borgia with the authority of Vice-Provincial of Florida, arrived with a band of Jesuits, one of them, Father Antonio Sedano, settled with a brother at Guale, now Amelia Island, on the boundary of Georgia and Florida; and Baes, the brother, prepared a grammar of the Indian language, as well as a catechism. Father Segura himself, in 1570, with Father De Quiros and three brothers, started out northwards from St. Helena, and penetrated into Virginia between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Here, within a short distance of where the city of Washington now stands, and possibly within view of Georgetown Heights, the whole party, together with some Indian catechists, were massacred in February, 1571. (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text II, p. 212. See BARTOLI, *Dagli Uomini e de Fatti della Compagnia di Gesù Memorie Istoriche*, V, p. 114-132; and Woods, S.J., in *Records and Studies*, III, "The Earliest Jesuit Missionary Explorers of Florida, Maryland and Maine," and BOLTON, *The Value of Mexican Archives for the Study of Missionary History*, in "Transactions of the Catholic Historical Association," (Ms.), December, 1920.)

Owing to a series of disastrous events St. Francis Borgia recalled the Jesuit missionaries from these fields, whereupon they proceeded to

Mexico and founded a flourishing province. (SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 150. New York, 1886.)

After the withdrawal of the Jesuits, the Franciscans entered the field ; but their missions failed after heroic efforts to maintain them.

After the dispersion of the Acadians, in 1755, many of them were shipped to Carolina, where they led a precarious existence. Some of their descendants were to be found in that section until the Revolution. " Few English-speaking Catholics ventured there, and two Irish Catholics, discovered in Charleston in 1775, were at once accused of conspiring with the negroes against the liberties of the country. They were condemned to be tarred and feathered, then banished from the state. Prejudice was so strong that any Catholics in Carolina kept the faith so secret that they were unknown even to each other. " (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 316).

NOTE 76 (p. 101). After the American Revolution, Catholics began to feel more freedom ; but Catholics could not occupy a seat in the Legislature of South Carolina. The twelfth and thirteenth articles of its Constitution (1788) set forth that, " No person shall be eligible for a seat in the Senate " or " to sit in the House of Representatives unless he be of the Protestant religion ". It was further provided that no church should be incorporated, unless it subscribed to five articles, including justification by faith only, and the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith ". The few Catholics who were there were deprived of spiritual ministrations till 1788, when Dr. Carroll sent Rev. Mr. Ryan to Charleston. There is a statement to the effect that in 1786, an Italian priest bound to South America, said Mass in Charleston. (See ENGLAND, *A brief Account of the Introduction of the Catholic Religion into the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia*, p. 9. Dublin, 1832).

Rev. Mr. Ryan spent two years in Charleston, and said Mass in a " ruinous house which the Catholics had hired ". Mr. Ryan remained there two years and was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Keating, who, owing to difficulties, remained there only a short while. RAMSAY states that there was a priest there before Keating went to Charleston. (*History of South Carolina*, vol. II, p. 37, 180. Compare MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossorianae*, vol. III, p. 505. Dublin, 1884.)

Rev. S. F. Gallagher, who came from Ireland, recommended by the Archbishop, of Dublin, came to Charleston in 1792. He was learned and eloquent, but the Bishop soon heard of " neglect of the sacraments and other abuses which diminish the respect due to the maxims of the gospel and the decency of divine worship. Bishop Carroll made an effort to remove Gallagher from his charge, but the latter appealed to Rome and went there personally to prosecute his case. In the interim, Rev. Mr.

LeMercier was appointed, but on Gallagher's return from Rome, he refused Le Mercier the privilege of saying Mass at the altar of the church. In the following year (1804) Gallagher was interdicted from all functions except that of saying Mass in his own house. The trustees then ordered the church to be torn down, "in order to prevent the priest appointed by Bishop Carroll from officiating; but an indignation meeting of the Catholics at large prevented the sacrilege. Gallagher then opened a chapel in his own house, and continued to exercise the ministry even in North Carolina".

"Rev. Mr. Le Mercier visited the scattered Catholics, and in 1805 was at Raleigh, North Carolina... He died on his way to France about 1806" (SHNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-62.)

NOTE 77 (p. 102). Georgia was founded by Oglethorpe and the Earl of Egmont, "to provide an asylum, to which the poor and unfortunate debtors of England and the oppressed Protestants in other parts of Europe could come and live in peace and earn a livelihood by industry and frugality". The charter which they obtained, in the fifth year of George II, provided liberty of conscience for all persons, "except papists". No Catholic was safe from discovery and consequent punishment. There had long been a Catholic settlement in Georgia (Vid. *supra*, note p. 203), and doubtless some Catholics were scattered throughout the southern section of the province. A few Acadians had come there in 1756, but they were not allowed to make a settlement. Some, however, remained and we find today in the history of Georgia records of names that are distinctly Acadian. (FOLEY, *The Catholic Church in Georgia*, in "Transactions of the Catholic Historical Association," (Ms.) December, 1920.)

The first priest to establish the worship of God in Georgia, after the decay of the Jesuit missions, was the Abbé Lemoine, about whom little is definitely known beyond the fact that he died, presumably in Savannah, in 1786, and that after his death the French consul seized his effects (SHNA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 463, New York, 1886.)

Father Le Mercier went to Savannah in 1796, and later removed to Charleston, South Carolina (Letter, Le Mercier to Bishop Carroll, Savannah, October 14, 1796, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*. Cfr. Foley, *supra*, note p. 209.)

In 1803, the Abbé Carles, who had been identified with the Asylum Colony in Pennsylvania, went to Savannah. (FOLEY, *ibid.*)

NOTE 78 (p. 105). Kentucky was probably visited by Joliet, the Canadian explorer, in 1763. With him was Father Marquette; and it is also probable that Kentucky was visited by the Jesuit Father Gravier.

in 1700 (WEBB, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 13-14. Louisville, 1884 ; and COLLINS, *History of Kentucky* vol. I, p. 510. Covington, 1882.)

Little, however, is definitely known of Kentucky till the emigration from the east in 1774. The Catholic emigration began in 1785, when a number of Catholics, principally from St. Mary's, Charles, and Prince George counties in Maryland arrived. (O'DANIEL, *The Right Rev. Edward Dominick Fenwick, O.P.*, p. 68. Washington, D.C., 1920.)

The first missionary into Kentucky was Father Charles Whelan, a Franciscan, of whom we have given some data above in discussing the mission in New York.

He resided in Kentucky for two years and lodged with private families. He did not build a chapel, or a church. (STALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, pp. 41-46. Louisville, 1844.)

In 1790, the Rev. William de Rohan arrived in Kentucky. He built at Pottinger's Creek Settlement the first Catholic Church in the state. "It was a small structure of logs covered with clapboards, and was later dedicated to divine service under the title of Holy Cross." (O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 72.)

NOTE 79 (p. 106). The Rev. Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States (May 25, 1793), was sent to the Kentucky missions by Father Carroll in September of the same year. He was accompanied by Rev. Peter Barrière, who possessed the faculties of Vicar-General. They journeyed by way of Pittsburgh, halting for some days at Gallipolis, where they ministered to the remnant of the former French colony. They arrived in Lexington the first Sunday of Advent, December 1. The Holy Sacrifice offered on that day marked the beginning of Father Badin's long apostolate in Kentucky. Father Barrière did not remain long in Kentucky, but left for New Orleans in April of the following year (1794).

NOTE 80 (p. 106). This is evidently an error, as Father Badin had been more than three years in Kentucky before Thayer's arrival. Rev. Michael J. Fournier came to Kentucky on February 26, 1799 ; Father Anthony Salmon, on January 31, 1799, and the Rev. John Thayer some days later. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8 A. M. I.: *ibid.*, Case I, E 12.)

Father Salmon died from an injury on November 9, 1799 ; and Father Fournier died on February 12, 1803. Father Thayer had already retired from the mission. (O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 76.)

NOTE 81 (p. 106). Father Charles Nerinckx was a Belgian, born October 2, 1761, at Herffelingen, Brabant, entered the Seminary of Mechlin in the fall of 1781, was ordained to the priesthood toward the

end of 1785, and appointed vicar of the parish of St. Romulus, Mechlin in 1786. During the French Revolution he was imprisoned for some years and, in 1803 he applied to Bishop Carroll for admission to the Diocese of Baltimore, and was accepted. He arrived in Baltimore November 14, 1804. (MAES, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 1-48. Cincinnati, 1881.)

He spent some time at Georgetown College learning English and helping in parochial work. He started for Kentucky in the spring of 1806 in company with the Trappist community who had abandoned Pigeon Hill for the western mission, and arrived at Father Badin's residence in "the center of the Catholics of Kentucky, on the 18th of July." (MAES, *op. cit.*, p. 62.)

NOTE 82 (p. 106). This statement is questionable. The Dominican priests to whom Dilhet refers were Fathers Edward Fenwick, later Bishop of Cincinnati, "the Apostle of Ohio", Wilson, and Tuite. They were later joined by Father Angier, who had been left in Maryland, at the request of Bishop Carroll, to serve a congregation till they needed him. (O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

"There can be no doubt that the paternal spirit shown by the early Dominicans of Kentucky in the administration of the sacraments, and their kindly, genteel manner, had much to do with the reception accorded them by the people. Indeed, from the time the fathers first arrived there, the faithful, hungering for spiritual food, and anxious to make their peace with God, flocked to them from far and wide, as to ambassadors of Christ whom they understood, and who understood them. This may be gathered fully from the letters of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx to Bishop Carroll." (O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 124.)

Writing to Bishop Carroll, Father Fenwick says: "We are everywhere followed and pestered for confession. Many have not been [to confession] for three, four, eight, and twelve years... We are all three of us here, zealously and actively employed in missionary duties, wherever called for, though there is constant occupation for us in our own Congregation of St. Ann... Many have not received any sacrament since they left the old State." (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3, R.I.)

Both Fathers Badin and Nerinckx though most zealous, evidently did not quite understand the temperament of the people among whom they labored. Compare *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 6, pp. 15 ff.

NOTE 83 (p. 108). On arrival in Kentucky the Trappists located at Pottinger's Creek and remained there till the early spring of 1807, when "during the severest spell of an extremely cold winter which had set in before Christmas, thirteen Trappists left our neighborhood to settle on a part of tract of land [in Casey County] which, if I am not

mistaken, they bought at \$2.00 an acre... among them is a worthy Canadian pastor (Langlois). The Superior is a young man... once a soldier... His name is Father Marie Joseph... Other lands have been offered gratis to the Trappists, but they did not accept of them... They will be established about forty miles from us, and will be obliged to open a new clearing of between seven and eight miles long in the wilderness" (Letter of Nerinck, in *MAMA, op. cit.*, p. 102.)

The Trappists did not remain here long, and in 1809 they left Kentucky, ascended the Mississippi from Cairo in row boats, and, entering the Missouri River, landed near Carbonière about ten miles above the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi, crossed the bluffs and settled in the village of Florissant, where an Irishman named John Mul-lanphy gave them the use of his own mansion (the former dwelling of the Spanish Governor. But the wandering spirit of Father Urban kept them on the move. They moved from Florissant to " Looking-Glass Prairie ", Illinois, in 1810, and settled one mile from Indian Lake. The place where they located is still called " Monk's Mound." Sick-ness decimated them here, and the ubiquitous Father Urban decided to return to France, and he left the Mound with several of his commu-nity in 1813. Some of the Trappists, however, remained in this sec-tion. " Father Marie Joseph Dunand, the prior, accepted the care of the souls in St. Charles' congregation, Missouri ; Brother Rysse-lman joined the Jesuits, and the other Belgian brother went to Bardstown, where he followed his trade as clockmaker ". (*MAMA, op. cit.*, pp. 108, 111, 112.)

Father Urban transferred his community to Maryland, where he found six other Trappists, who had recently arrived under the direction of Father Vincent de Paul. They were in a wretched condition, and Father Urban settled them on a little farm between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and conducted his own subjects to an island near Pitts-burgh. Meanwhile Father Augustin de Lestrangé arrived in New York (having been expelled from France), and took over a building which the Jesuits had formerly occupied near St. Patrick's Cathedral which now stands in Fifth Avenue. This foundation was not a success, and Fa-ther Urban made another attempt to found an institution in Pen-sylvania, which was on a tract of land offered to him by M. Quesnet, Vicar-General of Philadelphia (GILDAS, Art. "Cisterciens" in *Cath. Ency.* vol. III p. 787) and TASCHEREAU, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec.*)

Father Augustin left the United States in 1814, with a group of Trappists, to return to France ; a second group left at the same time under Father Urban. A third group set sail from New York for Halifax in May, 1815, and when they sailed for France left there Father Vincent de Paul. He labored in Nova Scotia for some years, alone.

and then went to France in search of some religious to found a monastery in Nova Scotia. He returned in 1823, and in 1825, he founded the monastery of Petit Clairvaux, which, up to 1916, flourished at Tracadie in the Diocese of Antigonish. It has been recently abandoned. In 1848 the Trappists again returned to the United States and established two monasteries, one at Gethsemani, in Kentucky, and another in the present Diocese of Dubuque. A large Trappist monastery was established at Oka, in the Province of Quebec, in 1801, where the Sulpicians gave them 1,000 acres of land in the seigniorship of the Lake of Two Mountains, near Montreal. (See GAILLARDIN, *Histoire de la Trappe*, Grande Trappe, 1898; VERITÉ, *Cîteaux, La Trappe, et Bellefontaine*, Paris, 1885; O'BRIEN, *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, Halifax, Ottawa, 1894; *L'Abbaye de Notre Dame du Lac des Deux-Montagnes des Cîteaux au Canada et dans les Etats Unis*, Montreal, 190.

NOTE 84 (p. 110). Vid *supra*, p. 172, under note on Gallipolis. After the dispersion of the Gallipolis colonists many of the chief personages dispersed to various parts of the United States. Bancel de Cougelen and Dauvergne found their way to Maine. Count Joseph de Barth, Baron de Walbach, finally settled down in New Hampshire. He left two sons one of whom we have already mentioned in the note on Conewago; the other is known in civil history as Walbach, who rendered distinguished service to the United States during the war of 1812. The Marquis de Maison Rouge obtained from the Spanish Government the right to bring a number of families to the Washita River in the northeastern part of the present State of Louisiana. Philip Neri, Baron Bastrop, a Prussian, was given a grant not far distant, and the town of Bastrop, Louisiana, recalls his efforts. Audrain and de Hault de Lassus settled in the same section of the country. Others settled in New Bourbon, in what is now Missouri. When France opened its doors to her exiles, New Bourbon was abandoned. Of "all the cities in the Spanish jurisdiction, the one most blessed by the accessions from Gallipolis was St. Louis." (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. V., pp. 439-449.)

NOTE 85 (p. 111.) Post Vincennes was named after François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes, grandson of François Bissot de la Rivière, the first proprietor of the seigniorship of Vincennes, in Lower Canada. He was not of Irish extraction, as is asserted by authorities some who base their statements on data derived from Bishop Brulé and Bishop Hailendière. (Ror, *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana et sa Famille*, xii, Quebec, 1919.)

" Dans le premier quart du dix-huitième siècle, un officier des troupes de la marine, le sieur de Vincennes, établit un poste militaire sur le fleuve Ouabache dans le pays des Illinois. Ce poste, d'après la tradition, était

situé dans les environs ou peut-être même sur l'emplacement actuel de l'importante ville de Vincennes, qui a été la première capitale de l'Indiana. Le sieur de Vincennes commanda plusieurs années dans cette région, faisant respecter et aimer le nom français." (*Ibid.*)

The ecclesiastical history of Vincennes begins with the ministry of Father Pacôme Legrand, a Recollect, who, after a term of service at Vincennes, died while returning to Niagara on October 6, 1742. He had formerly been parish priest at Beauport and Orleans Island, Quebec. (TANGUAY, *Repertoire Général du Clergé Canadien*, p. 78, Quebec, 1868.)

There is a record by Father Louis Meurin on April 21, 1749, of the marriage of Julian Trottier des Rivières and Josette Marie. In 1752 there is a record by Father Peter du Jaunay. In the following year Father Louis Vivier began a three years pastoral charge at Vincennes, being succeeded in November, 1756, by Father Julian Duvernay. (*Régistres de la Paroisse de St. François-Xavier au Poste Vincennes*. (Compare SHMA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 579. New York, 1886.)

He was the last Jesuit missionary at Post Vincennes. After his departure there was no priest there until the arrival of Rev. Pierre-Gibault, who came to Vincennes in 1770 and remained there two months, and later visited it as a mission till 1785. Father Gibault was identified with political affairs in Vincennes during the troublous days following the American Revolution. He took up his residence in Vincennes after the cession of the country; but, after a series of misfortunes, he was obliged to abandon it in 1789. It was then without a priest until the arrival of Father Flaget. (*Archives de l'Evêché de Québec*, Reg. C. Compare *Archives du Canada*, Série B. Collect. Haldimand, vol. 122, p. 235, Vincennes, 8 déc. 1778.)

NOTE 86 (p. 129). Our researches have failed to authenticate this statement. As regards the beginnings of the educational establishment to which Dilhet makes reference, it did not come into being until many years later. "We do not know that he (Richard) promoted the establishment of what has since become the University of Michigan... This was founded by an act of the Legislature in the year 1817, under the title of "Catholepistemiad", a name given to it by Judge Woodward. In spite of this handicap, and his thirteen didaxiums or professorships, it survives to this day as the University of Michigan. The president, Reverend John Monteith, a Protestant clergyman, held seven of these didaxiums, and Father Richard, the vice-president, the remaining six. His yearly salary was \$18.50." (HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, p. 168. New-York, 1916.)

NOTE 87 (p. 114.) Notwithstanding Dilhet's failure to find any records of the election of *marguilliers*, there are records of the following

priests in Detroit from the time of its foundation by M. de la Mothe Cadillac in 1700, and one of the earliest records registers the baptism of one of his children, by Father Nicholas Bernardine Constantine de Lhale, a Recollect who was chaplain at Fort Pontchartrain built by Cadillac immediately on his arrival. Father Lhale here built St. Anne's chapel, which was dedicated on July 26, 1701. This was the mother-church of the Northwest. Father Lhale, or de Lhale, was killed by the Outaouais on June 1, 1706. (TANGUAY, *op. cit.*, p. 70.)

Father Cherubin Deniau or Deneau, Recollect, was at Detroit from January 14, 1709, till May 11, 1794. He died in Montreal January 11, 1732.

Father Hyacinthe Pelfresne, Recollect, was there from August 20, 1715, to March 25, 1718. He died at Three Rivers in 1723.

Rev. Goulvin Calvarin, a secular, was at Detroit from March 1, 1718, to August 3, of the same year. He died in 1721.

Rev. Dominic Thaumur de la Source, of the Quebec Seminary, was at Detroit from August 3, 1718, to March 25, 1723. He also labored among the Tamarois. He died at the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec. Father Anthony de Lévis, Recollect, was there from December 1717 to March 9, 1722.

From July 26, 1722, to July 8, 1737, Detroit was under the care of Father Bonaventure Léonard, who built a church and dedicated it to St. Anne. His successor was Father Daniel, Recollect, who was in charge till June 19, 1738, (DIONNE, *Gabriel Richard*, pp. 113, 114. Quebec 1911. Compare TANGUAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 78, 85, 87.)

Following the Recollect missionaries, we find three Jesuits, who, in addition to their duties at Detroit, had charge of l'Assomption, now Sandwich, Ontario.

Father Charles de Richardie, from 1728 to 1746; John Baptist de la Morinie from November, 1738, to April, 1739; Peter Potier, from 1746 to 1754. Father Bonaventure Carpentier [Recollect] had charge for a short while. He was succeeded by Father Simplicius Bocquet, also a Recollect.

"Il y a eut à Québec, dans l'hiver de 1735, deux grandes retraites paroissiales prêchées par le P. de la Richardie, jésuite de la mission du Détroit." (GOSSELIN, *L'Eglise du Canada*, Deuxième partie, p. 278, Quebec, 1916. Compare DIONNE, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

NOTE 86 (p. 131). There is a good deal of confusion in the three preceding paragraphs. Father Hubert was sent as Vicar-General to Detroit with jurisdiction over all the Illinois country, and was furnished with a passport by Governor Haldimand recommending him to the commanders at the different forts and asking them "de lui donner toute protection et assistance en leur pouvoir, tant pour ses voyages que

pour l'exercice de ses saintes fonctions parmi les sauvages et parmi tous les sujets catholiques Romains de sa Majesté" (GOSSELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 150, excerpt from Letter of Haldimand, dated at Montreal August 21 1778).

In the following year Haldimand writes to Father Hubert and informs him that he is sending him Father Payet and a helper "pour lui aider dans son ministère." (*Ibid.*).

Father Payet was sent to Vincennes in 1794 and remained there till July, 1786. Meanwhile Father Hubert did pastoral work at Detroit till October, 1784. Some time later he returned to Quebec, and by a Bull of Pope Pius VI, June, 1785, he was made Bishop of Almyra and coadjutor of Quebec.

"M. Hubert se livra aux travaux apostoliques de sa mission avec tout le zèle et l'entrain que faisait augurer le désir qu'il avait eu d'y entrer. Il passa quatre années entières à Detroit, ayant pour assistant M. Louis Payet, qui fut plus tard curé de Chambly et de Verchère" (GOSSELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 150).

Dilhet does not appear to have been familiar with the history of Bishop Hubert's last years. The Bishop really wore himself out in the service of the Diocese of Quebec, and his retirement was due to illness brought on by over-exertion and pastoral work. After a pastoral visitation of the eastern portion of his diocese in 1796, he was stricken with illness and resigned in favor of his coadjutor, Bishop Denaut, in September, 1797, and became the curé of Château Richer, hoping that the country air would enable him to recuperate. But he remained there only fifteen days, and was obliged to go to the General Hospital for treatment. He died there on October 17, 1798.

NOTE 88 (p. 116). Certain French historians have not dealt kindly with the memory of the zealous bishop, notably Brasseur de Bourbourg, the author of *L'Histoire du Canada*, and Mgr. Fèvre, the continuator of Darras' *L'Histoire de l'Eglise*. Nevertheless Bishop Hubert was a most zealous and saintly prelate. He had done great work for the Church. During his episcopate he had consecrated three bishops, Bailly, Denaut, and O'Donnell, ordained fifty-three priests, and confirmed more than forty-five thousand persons. (TARU, *Les Evêques de Québec*, p. 407. Quebec, 1889).

Father Frechette went to Detroit after the departure of Father Payet for the Illinois missions. He had previously been at l'Assomption, now Sandwich. His first entry as parish priest of Detroit occurs under date, of July 3, 1786; his last July 6, 1796 (*Parish Register*, Ste Anne's Church, Detroit).

The "blessed bread" alluded to as being a cause of difficulties between him and his parishioners is a custom still in vogue in many French

Canadian churches. The custom is very ancient and may be traced to the *eulogia* prescribed in the liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom. When the faithful no longer furnished the bread for the Holy Sacrifice, arose the custom of bringing bread to the church and distributing it to those present at Mass as a token of mutual love and union. This blessed bread was called *panis benedictus*, *panis lustralis*, and is known in France and Canada as *pain bénit*. The *pain bénit* was blessed after the Asperges, and then distributed to those who assisted at High Mass. The parishioners furnished it in turn. (MIGNÉ, *Encyc. Théol.*, vol. XVI, p. 1119, Paris, 1847.)

When the English evacuated Detroit in 1796, Father Frechette was recalled by the Bishop of Quebec, and Bishop Carroll directed Father Levadoux to take charge of the church at Detroit, which was then the most important of the French settlements in the Northwest. Father Frechette returned to Quebec, where he died January 3, 1816. Toward the end of Father Frechette's pastorate he was aided by Father Francis Xavier Dufaux, a Sulpician, who had been attached to the Seminary of Montreal from 1778 to 1785, when he was sent to l'Assomption as assistant to Father Frechette. Later he became pastor with the faculties of Vicar-General. He died in September, 1796, and was buried at L'Assomption (Sandwich). (TANGUAY, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

NOTE 89 (p. 116). Father Levadoux was one of the Sulpicians who accompanied Father Nagot to the United States (1791), and was soon afterwards sent with Father Richard to the Illinois country, which had recently passed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore (May 5, 1788.)

Father Richard, who was in the Illinois country with Father Levadoux, is without doubt the greatest name in the missionary annals of the Sulpicians. He was at Prairie du Rocher from 1793 to 1798, at Cahokia in the early days of 1798, at New Madrid and St. Genevieve in 1797, at Kaskaskia in 1792 and 1796. He remained in the Illinois country for six years "de rudes labeurs au milieu des Indiens que le contact de la civilisation française avait rendus accessibles à la prédication évangélique. Le missionnaire eut à subir parmi eux de nombreuses contrariétés, mais aussi de douces consolations." (DIONNE, *Gabriel Richard*, p. 8. Quebec, 1911.)

Writing to Bishop Carroll under date of January 24, 1796, he says that there is a church at Kaskaskia with 800 souls, but the people here are worse than the Illinois. They have little religion and are addicted to drunkenness and debauchery. Prairie du Rocher is better; here his greatest consolation "vient de cinq ou six familles anglaises, qui vivent à dix ou quinze milles d'ici. Ils sont entourés d'autres familles qui sont

protestantes, mais que je réussirais à faire entrer dans le giron de l'Église si je pouvais parler l'anglais avec plus de facilité." (DIONNA, *op. cit.*, p. 9.)

In the following year he visited the Cahokia settlement, where there was a church which had been built by Father Levadoux. On March 22, 1798, Father Richard left the Illinois country for Detroit and arrived there in June. When Father Levadoux retired from Detroit, Richard succeeded him as parish priest.

NOTE 90 (p. 120). This statement does not tally with statements made by those who knew conditions at Detroit and Raisin River. A parishioner of Raisin River, writing to Father Defaux under date of May, 17, 1795, says, "... Les habitants de la Rivière-aux-Raisins sont surpris de son départ et désavouent de lui avoir causé aucune occasion de mécontentement." (*Mémoire sur les Missions*, p. 128, Quebec, 1885.)

Bishop Carroll, writing to Bishop Hubert, March 2, 1796, says: "... I do not think that any difficulty will be raised by the government of the United States (regarding the retention of priests laboring in the Detroit missions), unless in the case of Rev. Mr. Burke, whom ill-intentioned people and especially an apostate Dominican, named LeDru, have succeeded in imbuing some of the officers of the American troops posted near Fort Detroit, with prejudice against that priest, as one who endeavored to foment and excite in the heart of the Indians, great animosity against the States. I will do my best to remove this prejudice, and I shall readily profit by your Lordship's permission to associate him to my diocese and employ his talents and ministry." (*Archives de l'Evêché*, Quebec, Cahier, "Detroit," 1796.)

After Father Burke's retirement from the Detroit mission, he located first at Niagara, then at York (Toronto,) and finally at Kingston. Thence he went to the Sulpicians at Lake of Two Mountains, and later was appointed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, with faculties of Vicar-General. On July 5, 1818, Father Burke was consecrated Bishop of Sion i.p.i. and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia.

NOTE 91 (p. 126). LeDru seems to have had a somewhat checkered career. Previous to his appearance in the Illinois country, whither he had been sent by Bishop Carroll in 1788, or thereabouts, he had been a missionary in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and records of his difficulties are in evidence (*Archives de l'Evêché*, Quebec, Carton, "Memramcook," 1776. Cfr. CASGRAIN, *Un Pèlerinage au Pays de l'Évangéline*, Quebec, 1887.)

NOTE 92 (p. 127). The earliest mention of Michilimackinac is found in a letter of the Jesuit Father, Claude Jean Allouez, written to the superior at Quebec toward the end of 1660: "On the third of November we departed from the Sault, I and two others" and in about

a week he and his party "doubled successfully enough the Cape which makes a detour to the west, having on our left in our rear a large island named Michilimackinack celebrated among the savages." (*The Jesuit Relations and Other Allied Documents*, edited by REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, vol. LXVII, pp. 197-201. Cleveland, 1900).

The first description of the Island of Machilimackinac is found in the report of Father Claude Dablon, who says: "It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois (Michigan) and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the South, as does the Sault (St. Marie) for those of the North; for in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many nations, who must seek one or the other if not the two if they wish to visit the French settlements. This circumstance makes it very easy to instruct these poor people when they pass, and to gain ready access to their countries." (*Ibid.*, LV, 157.)

The most famous name in the early history of Michilimackinac is that of Father Marquette, who began a mission here in 1761. It was from here that he set out in company with the Canadian explorer, Louis Joliet, on his great voyage of discovery which revealed the existence of the Mississippi.

NOTE 92 (p. 128). As regards the early record of Michilimackinac there is little known, for the first chapter in the history of the settlement "closed shortly after Cadillac, the commandant had removed the garrison to Detroit in 1701. He held out all possible inducements both to the Christianized and non-Christianized Indians about Mackinac to follow him. He had quarreled with the Jesuits and would have none but Recollect friars in his new settlement. So, in 1706, with sad hearts, to prevent its desecration, the Jesuit Fathers burned their chapel at Point St. Ignace, and retired undoubtedly with all the archives of the mission to Quebec." (WOOD, *Historic Mackinac*, p. 91. New York, 1918; and WILLIAMS, *Early Mackinac*, p. 27. New York, 1919.)

If we seek the cause of the disagreement between Cadillac and the Jesuits, it can be found in the expression *brandy traffic*, for this was the underlying reason for many of the difficulties that existed between the French Government and ecclesiastical authorities from the early days of the *ancien régime* when Bishop Laval occupied the see of the ancient capital.

In nearly all the outlying districts, notably at the great military posts, these difficulties were always existent.

As to conditions at Michilimackinac we find that here especially the brandy traffic was a cause of spiritual and material ruin. Shortly after the coming of Durantay to Machilimackinac in 1683, the traffic in brandy was under way. "The commandant, his officers, his soldiers

and his employes had become traders with the Indians ; the principal article of their traffic was *sau de vis* dealt in at first *sub rosa*, but later on openly and in cabarets." (RICHARD H. ELLIOT, "The Jesuits of l'Ancien Régime who Lalored on Michigan Soil — Their Detractors," in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, January, vol. xviii, 1903, p. 104.)

The next chapter in the missionary history of Mackinac begins in 1712, probably by Father Marest. "The register beginning in 1741 is far from complete... it is not continuous. In 1741, when the first contemporaneous entries were made, Father du Jaunay and Father de la Morinie, both Jesuits, were evidently at the post... In 1743 and 1744 their place was taken by Father Coquart, another of the Jesuit missionaries. But from 1744 until 1749, a period nearly contemporaneous with that part of the old French and Indians wars, known as 'King George's War' there was evidently no priest in Mackinac. From 1749 to 1752 Father du Jaunay was again in charge. In 1752 he was either relieved or visited by Father de la Morinie and Father Lefranc, and Father Lefranc and Father du Jaunay seem to have alternated in their charge of the mission from 1752 until 1761.

"I suspect that they relieved each other by alternating between the settlement upon the St. Joseph river and the one at Mackinac. But from 1761 until 1765, during which time the British took possession of Mackinac and the massacre and capture of the fort in Pontiac's conspiracy took place, Father Jaunay was at the post... From 1765 until 1768 there was evidently no priest at the mission. In 1768 Father Gibault, styling himself 'Grand Vicar of Louisiana' and again 'Vicar General of Illinois',... visited the post upon his way south to arrange, if possible, the question of jurisdiction concerning the lower Illinois mission, with the Capuchins of New Orleans. In 1775, Father Gibault made another brief visit. In 1776 and 1777, Father Payet was there for two months in the summer of each year. After that for seven years no priest visits the church. Then for two or three months a Dominican named LeDru, styling himself 'an apostolic missionary priest' performs marriages and celebrates baptisms for a period of two or three months. In 1796 Father Levadoux makes a visit to the mission, styling himself 'Vicar General of Monsieur the Bishop of Baltimore'. Up to this time, through great delay in carrying out the treaties of 1783 and 1794, the post at Michilimackinack had not been taken possession of by the Americans. In October 1796, two companies of the United States army (of the 1st infantry) arrived and took possession, and in 1799, the man who, although Frenchman by birth, may from his career be called the first distinctively American priest, Father Gabriel Richard, in the course of an extended tour of the north-western missions, arrived at

Mackinac, where he made a stay of about three months. In 1804 he sent from Detroit his assistant, Father Dilhet."(EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN, *The Parish Register of the Mission of Michilimackinac*, in *Wood, op. cit.*, p. 90 ff.)

There is some doubt as to the location of the first Michilimackinac mission ; but researches made by an eminent authority on the history of the Michigan peninsula's early ecclesiastical history are to the effect : " It is safe to conclude that none of the early missions were located on the Island. When the fort was removed from Old Mackinac to the Island, the mission church, which stood in old Mackinaw, was taken down, hauled over the ice to the Island and re-erected on a lot, known later as the old graveyard. The removal of the chapel was undertaken by the Catholic Frenchmen because there was no missionary at Michilimackinac for a period of almost ten years. The last entry in the church records *before* the removal, is the baptism of Archange, born of legitimate wedlock of Sieur Jean Askin *Commissaire pour Le Roy en ce poste*, October 3, 1775, by P. Gibault *prêtre missionnaire*, and that of a marriage on the same day, of Joseph Ainste and Theresa Rondy. The first record *after* the removal is that of an election of trustees presided over by the missionary Payet, on the 23rd of July, 1786. Hence Père Payet was the first missionary actually stationed on Mackinac Island. According to the register of baptisms he remained there from the 15th of July, 1786, till the 20th of August, 1787, having during this time administered the sacrament of baptism to sixty-five persons ; of these sixteen were baptised conditionally and in a great many more instances only the ceremonies were supplied. The neophytes were all children ranging from eleven years down to a few months with the exception of five adults. The most important, if we may say so, was ' *un Chef de la nation des Courtes Oreilles, ou des Outaouis* ' who was christened by the name of Charles Père Payet officiated at four marriages and had but one burial.

" The register bears splendid testimony that the people were instructed in the nature of the two sacraments, baptism and matrimony. The record is interspersed with lay baptisms using invariably the verb *ondoyer*, to christen privately ; and entries of marriage plainly attest how well the instructed people of Mackinac understood the teaching of the Church regarding this sacrament.

" From August 1787 until May 1794 there was again no priest at Mackinac..... only eight private baptisms. On May 8, 1794, Père LeDru, missionary apostolic, as he signs himself, a Dominican, supplied the ceremony of baptism to Charlotte, a free negress, aged eight years. This is LeDru's first official act on record. His activity extended only to July (ninth) of the same year when the interregnum stepped in.

Two years later Father Michael Levadoux, *grand vicaire de Monseigneur l'évêque de Baltimore*, paid a visit to the Island but remained only until the first part of August, because his presence was so much needed in Detroit, whither he was sent by Bishop Carroll in 1796.

"In the summer of 1799 (Father Richard) undertook a trip to visit the missions on the Lakes Huron and Michigan and arrived on Mackinac Island June 29th . . . Father Richard's first entry in the Parish Register is the baptism of Josette Laframboise . . . On the 23rd of September is his last entry . . . The first record made by Father J. Dilhet was on the 9th of June, 1804. He stayed, however, only a couple of months and according to all appearances the parish was left to drift for itself for the long time of almost seventeen years, unless Father Dumoulin, who was in the neighborhood in 1815, paid a visit, but no record is made to that effect." (BEEBE, *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*, vol. II, p. 167, 168, 171. Houghton, Mich., 1906.)

NOTE 93 (p. 131). The first record in the register of Vincennes is under date of June 25, 1749, and signed "Sebst.Lud. Meurin." Father Meurin was the only survivor of the French Jesuits of Louisiana, and for a long time, the last missionary in what was then the Far West. (THWAITES, *The Jesuit Relations and other Allied Documents*, IXX, pp. 228, 270, 290. Cleveland, 1900.)

After the suppression of the Jesuits he labored under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec, (WATRIN, *Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane*, ed. Caryon, pp. 58-102. Paris, 1835.)

He died at Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia settlement, August 13, 1777, (HUGHES, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, vol. II, Text, p. 421. London and New York, 1917.)

His successor was Father Louis Vivier, also a Jesuit, who labored at the post from 1753 to 1756. Father Julian Duvernay, who came next, was the last Jesuit missionary at Vincennes. He remained from 1756 to 1763. From August 1763 until February 1770 no missionary visited Vincennes. (ALBERDING, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes*, p. 58. Indianapolis, 1883.)

On April 1, 1769, the inhabitants of Vincennes addressed a request to the Bishop of Quebec, and Father Gibault was sent there in 1768, with faculties of Vicar-General, *mais sous la dépendance du P. Meurin*.

The request was as follows : " J'ose prendre la liberté, monseigneur, de vous écrire ces lignes pour vous assurer de nos très humbles respects, vous représentant que depuis le départ du R. P. Jésuite, que l'on nous a retiré de cette paroisse, j'ai le chagrin de voir élever nombre de petit enfants qui sont d'un âge à faire leur première communion, et s'en trouvent malheureusement privés. ainsi que bien d'honnêtes gens, de l'usage des sacrements. Nulle ressource dans cet endroit. J'ai le désa-

grément de voir plusieurs mariages contractés, sans pouvoir les obliger de recourir à notre mère la sainte Église ; ce qui ne peut porter qu'un grand scandale. Voilà, depuis le départ du Rev. Père, cinquante enfants à qui j'ai donné l'eau du baptême, toujours dans l'église, le Père m'ayant ordonné pour assujétir nos habitants à toujours reconnaître la sainte Église. Je fais l'exhortation tous les dimanches et fêtes, ainsi que la prière tous les jours ouvriers. Le Rev. Père partant m'a confié les vases sacrés, ainsi que les saintes huiles, qu'il m'a permis de visiter de temps à autre. C'est ce que je fais. Je n'ai trouvé aucune corruption. Nos habitants ont l'honneur de vous représenter un placet pour qu'il vous plaise leur accorder un missionnaire. C'est ce que nous attendons de votre clémence. Je suis avec un profond respect, de votre Révérence, monseigneur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Philibert, garde-presbytère, chantre. Au poste Vincennes, paroisse Saint Xavier, 6 avril, 1767." (*Archiv. de l'Ev. de Québec, Reg. C., Pouvoirs à Pierre Gibault pour la mission des Illinoïis et des Tamarois*, 3 mai, 1768.)

It was not unusual for laymen to assist as witnesses of the marriage ceremony. On October 6, 1788, after the death of Father McDonald, at Rustico, Prince Edward Island, the Vicar General of Quebec, Father Gragé, gave this permission to one John Doucet. (*Archiv. de l'Ev. de Q. Reg. D. E.*)

Gibault, however, was but to make a temporary visit at Vincennes, as he was destined for the Tamarois mission at Cahokia. He passed nearly two months at Vincennes in the winter of 1770. He took up his permanent abode at Kaskaskia, and visited Vincennes occasionally for several years. Gibault took an active part in the political issues following the cession of Vincennes to the Americans in 1778, and in consequence clashed with his ecclesiastical superior and incurred the anathemas of the British Government. (*Archiv. du Canada, Serie B. Collect. Haldimand*, vol. 122, p. 235, Vincennes, 18 déc. 1778.)

Gibault was suspended by the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Briand, June 1780. He went to Quebec, and was relieved of the suspension, then returned to Vincennes for a short while. (GOSSELIN, *L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête*, Première partie, p. 338. Compare TASCHEREAU, *Hist. Mss. du Sém. de Québec*, chap. 34, 1849 ; and Letter of Gibault to Bishop Briand, April 1, 1783, cited by Alvord in *Kaskaskia Records*, p. 520).

Five years later Gibault reappears in Vincennes "accompanied by another priest, Rev M. Payet. Gibault fixed his residence at Vincennes in May, 1785, and remained there until October 11, 1789, when he finally left Vincennes. "A layman, Pierre Mallet, appointed for this purpose by Father Gibault, now acted as 'guardian of the church'

until the arrival of the Rev. M. Flaget in 1792." (ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, p. 64.)

Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget was born November 7, 1763, at Con-tournat in the parish of Saint-Julien de-Copel, in Auvergne, made his studies at the College of Clermont, and became a Sulpician in 1785. In 1788 he was sent as procurator to the College of Nantes, remained there two years, and was transferred to Angers. He was expelled from Nantes by the Revolutionists in the same year and returned to his home. When M. Emery decided to found a college in Baltimore, Father Flaget volunteered for the work, and left Bordeaux for America in January 1792. He arrived at Philadelphia on March 26, and three days later reached Baltimore. Here he remained two months, and was then sent by Bishop Carroll to Vincennes, arriving there after a tedious journey on December 21, 1792. (BERTRAND, *Bibliothèque Sulpicienne*, vol. II' p. 182, Paris, 1900.)

After two years and a half of most zealous missionary work Father Flaget was recalled to Baltimore by Bishop Carroll, and was sent as professor to Georgetown College. (*Ibid.*)

Father Flaget's successor at Vincennes was Rev. John Francis Rivet, a priest of the Diocese of Limoges, who was sent to the western missions by Bishop Carroll, in 1796. His last official act there was a record of a baptism, January 31, 1804. Finding his death at hand soon afterwards he sent to Prairie du Rocher for Rev. Donatien Olivier, but "he died three days before the arrival of this good clergyman." (ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, p. 76.)

Father Olivier did not reside at Vincennes, but he visited it occasionally.

NOTE 94 (p. 132). Cahokia is named after an Indian tribe of this name. The first chapel was built here by Father Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, of the Quebec Seminary, in the spring of 1699. (Letter of St. Cosme to Bishop Laval, Quebec, quoted in *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society*, No. 13, p. 236.)

The mission was attended regularly by the Seminary priests until 1763, when Father Forget DuVerger precipitately abandoned the mission. He had recently been appointed Vicar-General. Before quitting the mission, he sold, without having any power to do so, most of the property belonging to the Seminary: "Cahokia était l'ancienne mission des Tamarois desservie par les prêtres des Missions-Étrangères. Forget, le dernier de ces missionnaires, venait d'être nommé grand Vicaire par le Chapitre, lorsque, affolé sans doute par les événements, il quitta précipitamment la mission en 1763, après en avoir aliéné, sans aucune autorisation, la plus grande partie des biens, et s'enfuit en France ; triste sort d'une mission, dont l'établissement avait coûté au Séminaire

de Québec plus de trente mille livres." (GOSSELIN, *L'Eglise du Canada*, Première partie (1760-1775), p. 328. Quebec, 1916.)

Duquesne sold, or disposed of, all the furniture and lands with the exception of a four-league property. He sold to one Lagrange, on November 5, 1763, a stone house, an orchard, a flour mill, a saw mill, and sundry other appurtenances for the sum of 12,500 francs. He sold twelve black slaves to one Lessard, for 20,000 francs. Lagrange afterwards sold his share of the spoils to one Jutard, as, as it is said by people in the place, "les perdit d'un coup de dez en jouant avec lui." (*Ibid.*)

Father Paul de St. Pierre went to Cahokia in 1786, and succeeded in recovering a large part of the property disposed of by Dr Verger and built a presbytery at a cost of \$5,000, but he did not build a church. The erection of the church was probably begun by Father Gabriel Richard, and when he was recalled, in May, 1797, the church was almost completed. It was dedicated by Father Rivet, Vicar General and pastor of Vincennes, who also offered the first Mass within its walls on Wednesday, September 4, 1799. The first church at Cahokia was destroyed by fire in 1783, the second, which is still standing, was built in 1799. (HYMES, "The Old Church of Cakokia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, No. 4, pp. 462-63.)

NOTE 95 (p. 133). There were two Kaskaskias, but one of them disappeared as a mission center in 1700, with the withdrawal of the Indians. "There were two Kaskaskia missions, one — half a league above Fort Chartres, under the care of Father John Le Boulenger and Father Joseph de Kereben; the other two leagues distant under Father John Charles Guymonneau, who was about this time superior of the mission." (SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 558. New York, 1886.)

Father Le Boulenger compiled a Catechism in the Illinois language and the Ms. is preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island.

The original Kaskaskia mission was founded by Father Marquette on his second visit to the Illinois River section, on April 11, 1675. When on the voyage down the Mississippi with La Salle he visited the Kaskaskia tribe, by whom he was well received. He thus describes the reception: "We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted me to the Illinois Lake (Lake Michigan) whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid (Green) Bay whence we had set out in the beginning of June." (THWAITES, *op., cit.*, LIX, p. 164.)

"This was the first permanent institution on the soil of Illinois and the only one, save the Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia, founded in 1698, that has endured since the seventeenth century." (THOMPSON. "The French in Illinois," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 16).

Kaskaskia had a succession of zealous Jesuit missionaries from the date of its foundation till they were banished by the officials of Louisiana. One of them was the martyred Father Senat, who was burned at the stake, with a party of French soldiers on Palm Sunday, 1736. (THWAITE, *op. cit.*, IXVIII, pp. 308-310).

Father Sebastian Meurin was the only Jesuit who remained in the Illinois Country after 1764, and "he met with a hospitable reception from the English on the eastern side of the Mississippi." (SHEA, *Transcripts, 1647-1770, in Georgetown College Archives.*)

"Father Meurin, lonely survivor of the flourishing Louisiana mission, received from the Holy See for his country of the Illinois extraordinary faculties (*Dispensandi super disparitate cultus in matrimoniorum celebratione*, such as had never been granted to any 'bishops, vicars apostolic or missionaries in America'). (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. II, p. 598.)

It should be stated, however, that the faculties granted to Father Meurin were only *ad triennium*.

Before coming into the English territory, Father Meurin made a report to Bishop Briand of Quebec to the effect: "This Illinois country consists of only six villages, each of about fifty to sixty fires, not including a considerable number of slaves. These villages, on account of their distance and situation, would each require a priest, especially in the English part. The parish of the Immaculate Conception at the Kaskaskias, that of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher (which is only a succursal of St. Anne at Fort Chartres, now abandoned by the inhabitants, and the parish of the Holy Family of the Kaskias or Tamaroas, and the Indians.) It is twenty-five leagues from the first village to the last. On the French or Spanish side, beyond the river, are situated the village of St. Genevieve, title of St. Joachim, on which depend Saline and the mines, and thirty leagues higher up the new village of St. Louis, which is made up of the remnants of St. Philip and Fort Chartres. These two villages are as large as the former in inhabitants or in black and red slaves. St. Joachim, or St. Genevieve is my residence, as it was stipulated in the conditions for my return to this country. From it I come and visit the other villages for Eastertide. I return again in the autumn and when I am summoned on sick calls." (*Archiv. de l'Evêché de Québec*, Reg. III, 1767.)

Together with a reply to this letter Bishop Briand sent Father Meurin a commission as Vicar-General, and promised to send him priests as soon as possible. Accompanying these documents was a pastoral letter to the "Inhabitants of Kaskaskia." (*Mandements des Evêques de Québec*, t. II, p. 205 ; and *Archiv. de l'Ev. de Q.*, Reg. C., p. 235.)

But Father Meurin did not exercise this faculty. He was soon after proscribed by the Spanish authorities, "and orders were issued for his arrest as a State criminal for recognizing a jurisdiction not admitted by Spain. A friend warned him of his danger, and Father Meurin left St. Genevieve, crossing the Mississippi into English territory. There he at once took the oath of fidelity as a resident of the Illinois country, before the conquest, and was safe from Spanish prosecution. His ministry could be exercised only in Illinois." (SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 120. New York, 1886.)

In response to Father Meurin's appeal for priests, Bishop Briand sent Father Gibault, whose destination, as ordered by the Bishop was Cahokia, but Father Gibault failed to obey the Bishop's command. "(Gibault) destiné d'abord pour cette mission, n'avait pas voulu y rester, dans la crainte de se faire des misères avec les Anglais. . . Il était allé résider à Kaskaskia, à vingt-cinq lieues de là, ce qui était peu délicat de sa part, le Père Meurin y étant déjà." (GOSSELIN, *op cit.*, p. 332.)

Succeeding Father Gibault, we find : Father Bernard, a Capuchin, from November, 1782, to May, 1784 ; Father Payet, from August, 1784, to May, 1785. From May, 1785, till June, 1786, Kaskaskia was attended by Father Paul de St. Pierre, pastor of St. Genevieve. Father Huet de la Valinière was there from May, 1786, to March, 1789, and was succeeded by Father LeDru, who arrived in May and left in September of the same year. Father Gibault returned in May, 1790, and left in May, 1791. Then the parish was abandoned till February, 1792 ; from which month Father de St. Pierre of St. Genevieve attended it. Father Gabriel Richard came in January, 1793, and left in April, 1796. He was followed by Father Pierre Janin, who came in May 1795, and left in April, 1796, when Father Richard returned (June, 1796). He left in March, 1798. He was followed by Father Donatian Olivier (from February, 1799, to 1803). "Documents about Kaskaskia, Illinois," by REV. B. ROUX, 1838, edited by ROTHENSTEINER, in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, pp. 209-210.)

It should be noted that Roux does not mention Levadoux whom Shea, giving as authority *Registre de l'Immaculée Conception, Kaskaskia*, places there, December, 1792. (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 483.)

NOTE 96 (p. 133). Fort Chartres was built in 1780 by de Boishabrant, and was long the chief French post on the northern Mississippi.

It became later the center and seat of Government of Illinois country. The chapel was dedicated to St. Anne. St. Anne de Fort Chartres, owing to the frequent inundation by the Mississippi, was abandoned and the inhabitants removed, it would seem, to Prairie du Rocher. Two of the chaplains of the Fort, the Abbé Joseph Gagnon, of the Quebec Seminary, parish priest of Cahokia, and Father Luke Collet, a Recollect died there, and were buried in the Church of St. Anne, but when that edifice threatened to fall with the crumbling earth into the river, their bodies were piously transferred to the Church of St. Joseph, at Prairie du Rocher. (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 123.)

Shea quotes Tanguay for this statement, and says that the bodies were removed by Father S. L. Meurin, in 1798. But Tanguay says, regarding Father Collet, "En 1755, il était aumônier de la Presqu'île et Rivière-aux-bœufs. Aumônier des troupes, en 1759, il fut fait prisonnier par les Anglais et conduit en Angleterre. Elargi, en 1760, il passa en France, dans une maison de son ordre, où il mourut quelques années plus tard." (*Répertoire Général du Clergé Canadien*, p. 115.)

NOTE 97 (p. 134). St. Louis was established by a French nobleman, Pierre Liguist Laclede, who had acquired trading privileges from the governor of Louisiana, in 1762. After the Treaty of Paris (1763) these privileges were withdrawn, and Laclede landed on the west bank of the Mississippi, and laid the foundations of St. Louis, which grew later into a splendid city. Its first missionary was Father Meurin. Father Gibault blessed the first church erected there in 1770. (DOHERTY, *Address on the Centenary of the Cathedral of St. Louis*, p. 6, St. Louis, 1876.)

In 1772 the Capuchin Father Valentine from New Orleans took charge of St. Louis as parish priest. He was succeeded by Father Bernard, who remained there thirteen years. From 1789 to 1793, there are no records to show that St. Louis had a resident priest. In 1793 Pierre Joseph Didier, a Benedictine monk, assumed charge and remained till 1799. "Everything indicates that he was a well beloved pastor. During his incumbency the church in St. Louis was not large enough to hold the crowds that came to Mass. He died about the end of October, 1799." (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. IV, p. 445.)

After the death of Father Maxwell, Father Thomas Flynn became pastor of St. Louis. Presumably he was sent after the coming of the delegation of which Dilhet speaks. Father Flynn, writing to Bishop Carroll from St. Louis, in 1806, thus describes the church, "It has a tolerably good bell, a high altar, and commodious pews. The house for the priest is convenient, but rather out of repair. There is annexed to it a large garden well stocked with fruit trees, a barn, a stable, and other out offices." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 595.)

NOTE 98 (p. 137). The culture of the sugar cane was introduced into New Orleans by Father Beaudoin, a Jesuit.

NOTE 99 (p. 137). Dilhet possibly had seen Charlevoix's "prophecy". Writing to the Duchess de Lesdiguières, in 1728, Charlevoix says: "My hopes, I think, are well founded that this wild and deserted places, which reeds still cover, will one day, and that not far distant, be a city of opulence and the metropolis of a rich colony."

NOTE 100 (p. 137). Besides the French Canadian population of Louisiana, there were at this time many Acadians, who had been driven out from their homes in Nova Scotia by the British. The Acadians, or "neutral French" had been recognised as British subjects for more than a quarter of a century when Governor Lawrence, on July 4, 1755, endeavored to get them to take an oath of allegiance "as subjects of the King of France," though they were in reality subjects of the British Crown at the time. On their refusal to subscribe to the oath as tendered by the officials whom Lawrence had named for this purpose, it was ordered that the Acadians be banished. Colonel Monckton then received orders from Lawrence "to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families) into your power and detain them until the transports arrive".

The families of 9,000 persons were broken up; the members scattered like chaff over the hostile Protestant world of the colonies. (See *HUGHES, op. cit.*, Text II, p. 278.)

They met with a chilly reception in Massachusetts, in Virginia, and in Georgia, but many of them found homes in Baltimore. Some reached the island of San Domingo, and it was from there that Louisiana received its first Acadian exiles.

The first detachment, 93 in all, arrived there in February, 1765, and by May of that year the immigrants numbered 463. (*GAYARRÉ, History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, vol. II, p. 128, New York, 1854.)

Many of those who had settled in Maryland later joined their fellow exiles in Louisiana. In the month of April, 1767, a schooner having on board some 200 Acadians left Annapolis bound for the Mississippi. (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. III, p. 19.)

Others who had gone to France were aided by the King of France to migrate to the Mississippi country in 1787, and they settled at Plaquemines, Terre aux bœufs, Bayou Lafourche, Attakapas, and Opelousas and developed thriving colonies.

NOTE 101 (p. 139). Father Anthony Sedella was not a Dominican but a Capuchin who had come to New Orleans in 1779.

NOTE 102 (p. 139). That the difficulties continued to exist in New Orleans is evidenced by what occurred when Father William DuBourg was appointed Administrator-Apostolic by Archbishop

Carroll (August 18, 1812). At the time of the erection of the See of New Orleans (1793), when Louisiana was a Spanish possession, the Floridas, which were likewise a dependency of the crown of Spain, had been annexed to the new diocese. But after the retrocession of Louisiana to France, and its sale by Bonaparte to the United States, the Bishop of Havana, on the plea that Spanish lands ought to be ruled by Spanish bishops, pretended that Florida had reverted to his diocese (Havana). Archbishop Carroll and Father DuBourg, on the other hand, challenged this claim, and even though Rome upheld their view, it was no easy matter to persuade the tenacious Cuban prelate to relinquish his title.

These, however, were trifling difficulties compared to the troubles which the Administrator had to contend with at home in Lower Louisiana. In that portion of the Diocese, which numbered more than 50,000 Catholics, there were only eleven parishes, and not enough priests to attend them. It is not strange, therefore, that "many Catholics die without the sacraments; many children unbaptized; others scarce see a priest once in a lifetime; marriages are contracted without blessing; Christian doctrine is not taught, and a decay of Christian life is to be observed, that within a few years the Catholic faith will be entirely obliterated" (*Archiv. Prop. America Centrale*, Cod. 4, *Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, Notizia de Luigiana*.)

"Darker still is the picture of conditions in New Orleans: There is rife in that city a spirit of unbelief, or rather of godlessness, which is gradually corrupting the whole mass. This plague is to be attributed to the coming of a great number of free-masons and huxters of every description, to the spread of French maxims, to infrequent preaching of the word of God, to love of lucre and pleasure, so much intensified by the climate and the number of female slaves, above all to the scandals given by the clergy.

"These last words, however, ought not to be understood as applying to the entire clergy. Of the five priests then living in New Orleans, three are singled out, birds of a feather who made the cathedral their eyrie; the Spanish Capuchin Rector, Anthony de Sedella — Père Antoine, as he was commonly called — for years the head of a clique opposed to the new order of things created by the Louisiana Purchase, and his two notorious assistants, the whilom Recollect John Kuana (Kuhn?) and the ex-Dominican, Père Thomas. (SOUVAY, in *Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1918, pp. 53, 54.)

NOTE 103 (p. 162). In 1785 and presumably at the time of which Dilhet writes, Natchitoches had a church and a resident priest. During a visitation of his diocese (Louisiana and the Floridas), between the years 1796 and 1798, Bishop Penalver y Cardenas visited this section

and he writes of Natchitoches as being one of the places where adventurers have "corrupted the morals of the people"; where the number of the faithful who receive the Holy Eucharist at Easter decreases; where there never was "such scandal as now prevails." (GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, pp. 407-9, New York, 1854.)

NOTE 104 (p. 140). Natchez has had a tragic ecclesiastical history. Several priests were martyred there by the fierce tribe after which the place is named; among them three Jesuit Fathers, Poisson, Souel, and Doutreleau, and two seculars, Fathers St. Cosme and Foucault of the Quebec Seminary. Shortly before the cession of Natchez to the United States, three priests from Salamanca, Fathers McKenna, White, and Savage, settled at Natchez and erected promising missions there and in the vicinity. After the transfer of Natchez to the United States, Father Francis Leman, parish priest of Point Coupée attended it. There then ensued a serious process of litigation regarding the church property and when Winthrop came there as governor he had serious thought of seizing the Catholic Church building and converting it into a court-house, but he said it might hurt the feelings of about a dozen Catholic families, and give offense to the King of Spain who had built it. (CLAIRBORNE, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, p. 208. Jackson, 1880; Cfr. JANSSENS, *Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Miss.*, pp. 14-15. Natchez, 1886.)

Father Boutin was at Natchez in 1803. "This zealous priest was drowned in the Mississippi and his body was buried in the parish of the Assumption." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 508.)

NOTE 105 (p. 140). When the Jesuits came to New Orleans in 1726; Father de Beaubois, the superior, immediately began to provide a sufficient number of Fathers to attend the mission of which New Orleans should be the headquarters. At the instance of Bienville, the founder of the city, and with the approbation of Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec, he set out for France to obtain sisters to assume charge of a hospital and a school. He applied to the Ursulines at Rouen, and on September 18, 1726, a Royal Patent was issued authorizing them to found a convent in Louisiana. (*Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes*. 1904, p. 17. *Traité avec les Ursulines de Rouen pour un établissement de leur ordre à la Louisiane*, 13 sept., 1726 :—Brevet en leur faveur, 18 sept., 1726).

On February 22, 1727, the Ursulines, under the direction of Mère Tranchepain de St. Augustin, set sail for Louisiana, and reached New Orleans on August 6. They were installed in a temporary convent, and "furent sept ans à attendre la construction d'un monastère qui leur appartint." (GOSSELIN, *op. cit.*, Première partie, p. 440.)

Their chief object was the education of young women; in addition to this they undertook the instruction of colored women and opened a day

school for poor children, a hospital, and an asylum for fallen women. (Letter of Father Petit, in *Les Ursulines de Québec*, vol. III, p. 516. 1863.)

The institution which the Ursulines established at New Orleans was similar to the General Hospital of Quebec and the Ursuline establishment at Three Rivers. The Ursuline foundation in Louisiana was the object of special attention by the Bishop of Quebec during the French regime, "par l'entremise surtout de leur digne grand vicaire à Paris l'abbé de l'Île-Dieu." (GOSSELIN, *Encore le P. Bonnesmpe*, p. 103, Ottawa, 1897.)

The early days of the Ursulines in New Orleans were beset with many difficulties ; and they would have abandoned the city were it not for the insistent pleadings of Father de Beaubois. One of the difficulties with which they had to contend was the desire of the authorities to place them under the direction of the Capuchins. By their *Constitution* they were at liberty to choose their own director, and they wished to have a Jesuit. (*Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes*, 1904, p. 93, lettre du Ministre à M. Le Pelletier, 9. nov., 1723.)

At the time there were two Vicars-General at New Orleans, the Capuchin, Father Raphael, and the Jesuit, Father de Beaubois. Owing to the friction between the two, Father de Beaubois was forced to leave New Orleans, the Governor siding with the latter, while the *Compagnie d'Occident* espoused the cause of the Capuchin Father Raphael. After the *Compagnie d'Occident* had retroceded the colony to the Crown, Father de Beaubois returned to New Orleans, as superior of the Jesuit missions, but the Capuchin Vicar-General was unyielding in the matter of jurisdiction, notwithstanding the attitude of the Crown. (*Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes*, 1904, p. 136.)

The difficulty lasted for a long time, and Father de Beaubois was again obliged to leave the colony ; he did not return. The Jesuits were banned till shortly before the death of Father Raphael "A sa mort seulement, le 15 février, 1734, il consentit à rendre les pouvoirs aux religieux interdits, à la condition que le P. de Beaubois, serait rappelé en France par ses supérieurs" (ROCHMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e siècle*, t. I, p. 218, Paris, 1895.)

Meanwhile the Ursulines were laboring zealously at their appointed work, and "by prudence and patience they at last had hospital and schools on a solid basis, but they were grieved to see the people so indifferent to the educational advantages afforded. . . The daughters of the better class were educated in their academy, many in time marrying French and Spanish officials of rank, and doing honor in other lands to their training by the exhibition of Christian graces." (SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Times*, p. 571, New York, 1886.)

During the French régime they had made great progress ; but when Louisiana was ceded to Spain, there began a period of vicissitudes which culminated in the withdrawal of the major part of the community to Havana, and only " a sad little group of six choir nuns and two lay sisters remained." (SHERA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 585-8. New York, 1886.)

After Louisiana had been purchased by the United States, the Ursulines, on March 21, 1804, addressed a memorial to President Jefferson soliciting the passage of an Act of Congress guaranteeing their property and rights.

To this request the President replied : " The principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States are a sure guaranty to you that it will be preserved for you sacred and inviolate, and that your institution will be permitted to govern itself according to its own voluntary rules, without interference from the civil authority. Whatever diversity of shade may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any ; and its furtherance of the wholesome purposes by training up its young members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure the patronage of the government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection my office can give it." (*Ibid*). See also GAYARRÉ, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 2 vols. New Orleans, 1846-7.)

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**THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
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Vol. II.

**THOMAS CORNWALEYS
COMMISSIONER AND COUNSELLOR
OF MARYLAND**

BY

**GEORGE BONIFACE STRATEMEIER
OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS**

A DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVER-
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FOREWORD

American Catholic history is as old as the history of the New World. From the very first, Catholics were among the discoverers, explorers and settlers. The record of Catholic achievement is not sufficiently known. The deeds of many heroic children of the Church, both lay and clerical, have not been treasured up in the records as they deserve.

Happily, of late years serious endeavors have been made on the part of Catholics to remedy this state of affairs. About two score years ago, there was established in Philadelphia a society having for its object the cultivation of historical research. The initiative of these scholars encouraged others in various parts of the United States to undertake similar work, some limiting their endeavors to their respective localities; while others looked further and considered the Church's history in all parts of America.

Today the greatest asset for promoting interest in the study of American Catholic history is the American Catholic Historical Association. The *Catholic Historical Review* brings to the attention of scholars historical desiderata, archival materials and aids in the diffusion of historical knowledge in general.

The future without presumption may be said to promise even greater things. The American Church History Seminar, under the efficient guidance of Doctor Peter Guilday, at the Catholic University, is seeking to train scholars who hope to contribute their share toward the furtherance of historical study and research. The writer of this dissertation has experienced the benefits accruing from several years' work with Doctor Guilday.

A few years hence will occur the tercentenary of the arrival of the Maryland colonists. Since this event means so much to religious liberty, of which Catholics are the founders, it is most fitting that a more thorough knowledge of the early history of Maryland, "the Land of Sanctuary," should be provided for Catholics throughout the land.

Thomas Cornwaleys was one of the leading figures in this enterprise. As that event draws near, it is hoped that George, Cecilius and Leonard Calvert, together with Cornwaleys and Hawley and other leading men of early Maryland, shall live again on the pages of our historical publications.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Doctor Guilday, under whose guidance this dissertation was written. To Doctors P. W. Browne, Stock, and Purcell, he owes a debt of gratitude for many valuable suggestions, but even greater is his indebtedness to his esteemed confrère, the Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel for much help in bringing this work to completion. A word of appreciation is also due to Miss McShane of the library of the Catholic University. Finally his thanks are due to all who have in any way given him assistance.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the day that Henry VIII broke away from the Catholic Church and set up a religion to suit his liking, the adherents of the ancient religion had to reckon with persecution. Loss of property, banishment and death were the lot of those who remained loyal to the faith of their fathers. In the first days of the Church, the Christians had to seek localities unknown to mankind at large where they might serve God unmolested. In fact in every place that persecution raged the same plan had to be adopted. So also in England, when the time of trial came for every true believer, Catholics had to worship God in secret as the Christians of old.

When the time of trial lengthened and persecution wore on without prospect of relief, other means were adopted. Men of property saw their fortunes dwindle away under the stern exactions of penal laws. When the fury of the persecutors abated somewhat, legal restrictions were still placed upon them. Their rights of citizenship were curtailed. In fact, many hardships continued for years even though several rulers arose who were somewhat more lenient. To escape these difficulties, to regain their lost rights, to stand on an equal footing with their fellow-men in the social and political order, Catholics, as well as the proscribed of other religions, decided upon self-imposed banishment, first to the continent of Europe and then to a home beyond the seas.

The foundation of Maryland was an outcome of this movement. Its founders, Calvert and his associates, decided to leave their homes in their native land to found in the land of America an asylum for the persecuted of all creeds. Among the first colonists of this "Land of Sanctuary," the name of Thomas Cornwaleys stands out prominently. Resolving to sacrifice his fortune and his all if need be, he decided to cast his lot with the colonial venture to achieve the boon of freely worshipping his God. A lover of liberty and an enemy

of proscription, he decided to traverse the ocean to secure that which at home he was unable to obtain.

In sending out his colony into the New World, Cecilius Calvert appointed as trusted adviser to Leonard Calvert, the governor, a man who was to render his name illustrious in the early annals of Maryland's history. It was most fortunate for him to obtain the services of Cornwaleys. Self-confident, cool in the hour of danger, firm, frank and determined, he would become, without conscious effort on his part, a former of public opinion and a centre to which all eyes might turn in cases of emergency and doubt.¹ In all the activities, whether legislative, judicial or military with which his name will be linked, he will stand out as fearless and undaunted in expressing his views and as a brave defender of the rights of proprietor as well as settler. In debates of the Assembly he will be found a leader and in every military expedition, he will be found the ablest commander.

In the scattered records of this interesting personage, his name assumes a variety of forms. It is spelled in at least four different ways: Cornwaleys, Cornwallis, Cornewallis and Cornwallys. All these forms are to be found in the *Archives of Maryland*.² Brown's *Genesis of the United States* notes two variations, Cornewallis and Cornwallis.³ We have adopted the form "Cornwaleys," because it is so written by himself.⁴

The ancestry of the sturdy Maryland colonist cannot be established with certainty. We will give the genealogy generally accepted and then assign our reasons for throwing doubt on the same. Neill derives his ancestry from the genealogical tree sketched in *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis*. The authors of *The Genesis of the United States* and *The Cyclopædia of American Biography* accept these sources.⁵ According to these, Cornwaleys' lineage is traced to the year 1519, when his greatgrandfather,

¹ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 125.

² I—*Archives of Maryland*, Index, p. 552.

³ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 1085.

⁴ *Calvert Papers*, No. I, p. 181.

⁵ Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, p. 69; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 863; *Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

Sir Thomas Cornwaleys was born.⁶ This nobleman was the husband of Anne, daughter of Sir John Jerningham. He was knighted on December 1, 1548. He was comptroller of the household of Queen Mary and a member of the Privy Council. Due to the fact that he was a Catholic, he was removed from both these offices on the accession of Elizabeth. He died on December 24, 1604, leaving two sons and three daughters. Alice, the second daughter, married Richard Southwell, eldest brother of Ven. Robert Southwell, S. J., who was martyred at Tyburn, February 21, 1595.⁷

Sir Charles Cornwaleys was the second son of Sir Thomas. Nothing is known of his early life. He received the honor of knighthood on July 11, 1603. From the year 1605 until 1610, he was ambassador to Spain. In 1610, he became treasurer of the household of Henry, Prince of Wales. His death occurred on December 21, 1629. Sir Charles Cornwaleys was married thrice. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Farnham of Fincham, Norfolk.⁸

Sir William Cornwaleys, the father of the Commissioner of Maryland, according to Neill, was a son of Sir Charles Cornwaleys by his first marriage. On August 26, 1595, he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Parker, of Erwarton, Suffolk. The date of his death is not certain, some writers placing it as early as 1614 and others as late as 1631. Thomas Cornwaleys was his second son.⁹

The writer's reasons for doubting the identity of the Maryland Commissioner and the Thomas Cornwaleys of Neill are derived from two sources. Streeter says that the only basis for supposing that Sir Thomas Cornwaleys was the great-grandfather of the subject of our biography is that they were of the same name and creed.¹⁰ We do not regard this as conclusive evidence. Furthermore, a careful scrutiny of the genealogy of the Cornwaleys family, found in Lady Corn-

⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XII, p. 234.

⁷ *Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.

⁸ D. N. B., *loc. cit.*

⁹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 863.

¹⁰ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

wallis' *Correspondence*, reveals the fact that there is only one Thomas Cornwaleys that could have been the Maryland Commissioner. His wife is Penelope, daughter of John Wiseman of Middle Temple and Tyrrels, in county Essex. From a letter written by Thomas Cornwaleys in 1638, he speaks of his wife.¹¹ At that time, Penelope Wiseman was but three years old. Lady Cornwallis carefully notes whenever any of the persons recorded in her genealogy were married more than once. In the case of Thomas Cornwaleys there is no such fact noted. And there is no indication in any of the records to lead us to suppose that Thomas Cornwaleys was married more than once. Consequently we feel inclined to adopt the conclusion that the Thomas Cornwaleys of this genealogy is not the colonist of this biography.

The details of the life of Cornwaleys previous to coming to Maryland are meagre. Neill claims that he was born in 1603.¹² The same author asserts that in his youth he was a merchant.¹³ When his marriage occurred cannot be stated. There are only two references to his wife in the available records. The first, as noted previously, is contained in a letter dated April 6, 1638, to Lord Baltimore. Therein he refers to her being indisposed so that she could not very efficiently manage his affairs in England.¹⁴ The other will be noted when we speak of Cornwaleys' final departure from the colony. This is all the information recorded in the career of Cornwaleys previous to his becoming a Commissioner of the Maryland Province.

Thomas Cornwaleys, in a document dated November 15, 1633, containing Lord Baltimore's Instructions to the colonists, is designated under the title of Commissioner.¹⁵ On the first organization of the government, Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys assumed the offices of Commissioner to advise and assist the Governor. They occupy the most im-

¹¹ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 170.

¹² Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Throughout this dissertation, the old style of dates is used unless otherwise indicated. O. S. indicates old style; N. S., new style.

¹³ Neill, *Thomas Cornwallis and Early Maryland Colonists*, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 170.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

portant posts in the early development of the history of Lord Baltimore's palatinate. This form of administration lasted until the arrival of the commission of November 28, 1637, when the Government was reorganized. The office of Lieutenant General or Governor remained with Leonard Calvert; the duties of Secretary, Registrar of the Land Office, Collector of the Customs and Receiver of the quit rents, were united in the person of Mr. Lewger, and the latter, together with Hawley and Cornwaleys, the former Commissioners, were made members of the Council of the Province, which superseded the original commission.¹⁶

It is strange that among the writers of the early history of Maryland, Thomas Cornwaleys has received little attention. The longest account concerning him is that by Streeter in his work, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*. Neill wrote two articles on Thomas Cornwaleys' life. The first is entitled *Thomas Cornwallis and Early Maryland Colonists*; the other, *Thomas Cornwallis, Commissioner*, written in his book, *The Founders of Maryland*. Streeter's work, though it contains few references has been found reliable. Neill, however, is frequently biased. He affirms that Cornwaleys was a Protestant, though all authorities are agreed that he was a Catholic. In fact, whenever there is a question of religion entering into any of Cornwaleys' acts, Neill forms an *a priori* conclusion that his religion was Protestant. Since the publication of Streeter's work several valuable contributions to Maryland's early history have thrown light upon many phases of Cornwaleys' career.

As one of the founders of Maryland, *Thomas Cornwaleys* should be better known. As a legislator in the Assembly, he upholds the rights of Lord Baltimore against the machinations of Claiborne and others. As an advocate of the rights of the people he is always found a ready and an able champion of their cause. As an upholder of religious toleration, he stands ready to condemn any infraction of his Lordship's orders to obtain this end. In his capacity as Captain General

¹⁶ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

of the military forces of the colony he is always prepared to defend the colony against the hostile Indians as well as against the incursions of Claiborne. His relations with the Jesuits in Maryland were most cordial. In his dealings with his fellow-men he was always trustworthy, faithful and honorable. As a Catholic, he deserves the reputation of a staunch adherent of the ancient faith. Russell says of him: "He enjoys the singular distinction of having been the trusted friend of the Proprietary, of the colonists and of the missionaries; and of being the only man in the colony who has been universally praised by Protestant and Catholic writers alike." ¹⁷

¹⁷ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 104.

CHAPTER II

THE MARYLAND CHARTER

The Maryland Charter was granted to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, on June 20, 1632. This document was the bill of rights that was to regulate all the dealings of the Proprietary with his subjects. It was to form the norm according to which all the functions of the Government whatever character these might assume, were to be determined. As Thomas Cornwaleys was to become one of the leaders in the legislative, judicial and military life of the Maryland colony, it is necessary to have an idea as to what were the privileges and rights as well as the limitations of those who stood in a position to direct the destinies of the infant colony. A brief analysis of this interesting document will therefore be given in this chapter.¹

The boundaries of the new province were as follows: "All that part of the Peninsula, or Chersonese, lying in the parts of America, between the ocean on the east, and the bay of Chesapeake on the west, divided from the residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory, or head-land, called Watkin's Point, situate upon the bay aforesaid, near the river Wighco, on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that boundary on the south, unto that part of the bay Delaware on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England is terminated: and all the tract of that land within the metes underwritten (that is to say) passing from the said bay, called Delaware bay, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Potomac, thence verging toward the south, unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it disembogues into the aforesaid bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest line unto the aforesaid promontory or place, called Watkin's Point; so that

¹ For the text of the Maryland Charter, see: Bosman, *History of Maryland*, Vol II, pp. 9 *et seq.*; Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, pp. 507 *et seq.*

the whole tract of land, divided by the line aforesaid, between the main ocean and Watkin's Point, unto the promontory called Cape Charles, and every the appendages thereof " 2

The colony received its name in this manner. The charter was drawn up with a blank where the name of the territory was to be inserted. Calvert wished it to be called *Crescentia*, or the land of Cresence, but he left it to the option of the king to designate the title of the colony. The king put the question to Lord Baltimore, who said that he would call it something in honor of his Majesty, but that he was deprived of this happiness owing to the fact that a province had already been named for him, namely, Carolina. Charles then suggested that the name be given in honor of the queen and proposed *Terra Mariae*, or Maryland, which was then agreed upon and inserted in the document. Thus the proposed palatinate was named after Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, King of France and Navarre, and sister of Louis XIII.³

The origin of the term "palatine" is usually ascribed to the Merovingian Kings of France, who delegated a quasi-royal power in judicial matters to an official known as "count of the palace," *comes palatii* or *palatinus*. The feudal lord could annex to the lands which he granted to his vassals such a portion of the *jura regalia* as he deemed fit, reserving to himself the suzerainty.⁴

The territory granted to Cecilius Calvert was to be a palatinate as of the old bishopric of Durham in England. The Lord Proprietor of Maryland was to have "as ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, immunities, and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well as by sea as by land, within the region, islands, islets, and limits aforesaid, to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any bishop of Durham, within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham, in our kingdom of England,

² Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-8.

³ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. I, pp. 51-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy.”⁵ Lord Baltimore’s grant was to be held in free and common socage,⁶ obliging him to deliver annually at the Castle of Windsor, unto the king, his heirs and successors, two Indian arrows on the Tuesday in Easter Week, as well as the fifth part of all gold and silver found.

Under the stipulations of the charter, the Proprietor of the Province was the owner of its soil. It empowered him, as well as his heirs and assigns, to make feudal grants of any estate or interest in the land, to be held directly of them by the same tenure under which they themselves held it of the sovereign. This rendered the Proprietor the sole tenant of the crown, and exclusive manorial lord of Maryland. The tenure of free and common socage was common to the proprietor as well as to those holding sub-grants. The services rendered under it by the tenant to the landlord, in acknowledgment or consideration of the grant, were fixed and determinate, so that the tenant was above the reach of exaction. They were of so free a character as not to degrade the tenant, and were pacific in their nature, in contradistinction of the military services which might be required under the tenure by knight’s service.⁷ Conformably to this tenure, the manner and terms of the Proprietary’s grants were left exclusively to his own determination, and he retained exclusive control over them throughout the whole epoch of the proprietary government. His conditions of plantation, proclamations and instructions always delineated the conditions under which the lands were granted, as well as the manner and terms of the grant.⁸ All officers who received delegated power in territorial jurisdiction from the Proprietary were appointed by him and were subject to his removal at pleasure.⁹

⁵ Browne, *Maryland the History of a Palatinate*, Note, p. 19.

⁶ McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, Vol. 1 (the only volume published), p. 168.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 168–9.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

In regard to the legislative powers of the Proprietary, the Charter conferred on him included generally all the objects of legislation within the province with the proviso that the laws be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but agreeable to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of the kingdom of England. The document furthermore enjoined that the enactment of laws be effected with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the same province, or of the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies. These were to be called together for the framing of laws, when, and as often as need should require. The right to determine the form and manner of calling the Assembly was expressly vested in the Lord Proprietor of the Palatinate.¹⁰ Such a government of laws, administered by freemen, was the nursery of our free principles and institutions. In contrast with all the colonial governments of that day, we may truly say of it, that it was full of power and privilege to the subject.¹¹

Just as the Charter conferred extensive legislative powers so also did it empower the executive to enforce these laws by the imposition of fines, imprisonment or of any punishment in accordance with the law of England. In fact, it even gave him the authority to punish crimes to the extent of privation of member or life. It gave the Baron of Baltimore the authority to constitute and ordain judges, justices, magistrates and officers as he deemed fit. In short, he was authorized "to do all and singular other things belonging to the completion of justice . . . to award process, hold pleas, and determine in those courts, praetorian judicatories, and tribunals, in all actions, suits, cases and matters whatsoever, as well criminal as personal, real mixed, and praetorian."¹² In the execution of justice the usages and customs of the mother country had an important influence. Just as in the palatinate of Durham, so also in Maryland, the freemen met in the capacity of a law court as

¹⁰ Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹¹ McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹² Cf. Charter, Section VII.

well as in that of a legislative assembly and thus we find that body occasionally trying offenders accused of crimes from that of a simple misdemeanor to that of piracy, murder, or treason.¹³

The fourteenth section of the Charter provides for the proper recognition of merit, and empowers Baltimore to grant favors, rewards and honors by conferring titles and dignities. This prerogative, however, was subject to the restriction "that they be not such as are now used in England" a restriction, as McMahon observes,¹⁴ that rendered the power a mere nullity. The same historian states¹⁵ that the first proprietary in some of his early instructions cherished the idea of conferring dignities as enduring personal distinctions, but fortunately for the colony, the design was never carried into effect as the existence of a titled gentry would have proved a dangerous obstacle to the growth of liberty in the colony. This same section invested the Proprietary with the faculty of erecting and incorporating towns, boroughs and cities, "with suitable privileges and immunities, according to the merits of the inhabitants, and convenience of the places; and to do all and singular other things in the premises, which to him or them (his successors) shall seem fitting and convenient; even although they shall be such as, in their own nature, require a more special commandment and warrant than in these presents may be expressed." These prerogatives may be placed under the caption of regal rights vested in the Proprietary. To these are added the pardoning power whereby this personage was enabled to remit and pardon all crimes and offenses against the laws of the province whether before or after the pronouncement of judgment.¹⁶ This faculty extended even beyond the royal grant so that the Proprietary had the power of pardoning all offenses committed in his domain, even if

¹³ Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹⁴ McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

they arose under English statutes operating in the palatinate, as well as the laws peculiar to the province.¹⁷

Ecclesiastical rights were vested in Lord Baltimore by the grant of "the patronages and advowsons of all churches which (with the increasing worship and religion of Christ) within the said region . . . shall happen to be built, together with license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels, and places of worship . . . , and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England . . . as any bishop of Durham, within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham, in our kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use or enjoy."¹⁸ Much has been said, and much written regarding the definition of the terms of the fourth section of the Maryland Charter, by those who assume and endeavor to prove that it was a provision for the establishment of the Church of England in the colony. That this was the king's intention in granting the patent which was issued to Lord Baltimore under a misconception of the latter's religious attitude and subsequent plans, is one view. Another opinion has it that the King and Calvert joined in false representation and in hoodwinking the English people. The terms of this part of the patent have been twisted and tortured into a variety of significations, and have been viewed at whatever parallax best served the purpose of the writers.¹⁹

The wording of the section of the Charter dealing with the religious prerogatives of the Maryland Proprietary does not clear up the difficulty. Considering, however, the attitude of the English Ruler toward Lord Baltimore and other Catholic peers, as well as the future acts of Calvert and his colonial government it becomes clear what religious power he actually possessed. Though the words of the Charter seem to indicate that the Church of England was the only one with a right to existence in Maryland, nevertheless it allowed

¹⁷ McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹⁸ Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

¹⁹ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 56-7.

latitude to found other churches. The Charters of Virginia and Georgia set forth in no ambiguous terms the permission to erect churches, chapels and oratories and of causing them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, but it did not bind him to do so. As a matter of fact one of the first things done in the colony was to dedicate a Roman Catholic Chapel.²⁰ Furthermore, the King knew full well the religious convictions of Cecilius Calvert and his intentions of establishing religious toleration and he was aware that Calvert would not accede to the obligation of fostering the religion of the Church of England to the prejudice of his project.²¹

Military powers vested in the Proprietary according to the provisions of the Charter as well as those of the palatinate government seem to have been granted for defensive purposes only. The Proprietor was captain general of the colonial army and could summon the inhabitants for the defense of the province. He could declare and exercise martial law, in all cases of rebellion, sudden tumult or sedition. None of these rights were to conflict with the military establishment of the mother country. The unlimited rights of war and peace are the peculiar privileges of the supreme power. Consequently the military rights of the colonials were a part of the sovereign dominion of the crown. The military power in the colony was accordingly very properly limited to the protection of the province and was given merely to meet a state of actual hostility to it, arising either from rebellion, invasion or warlike array against it.²²

One more aspect of the Charter remains to be considered, namely, the financial or commercial. The Charter of Maryland was such that it was exalted above every other by its commercial privileges and exemptions.²³ The colonists were

²⁰ Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, Note, pp. 36-7.

²¹ The religious rights of the Proprietary are discussed with clearness and ability by Bishop Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 *et seq.*

²² McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

enabled by it to export all articles grown or produced within the province to any of the ports of England or Ireland, subject only to the customs and impositions paid in similar cases by the inhabitants of England. The proprietary possessed full and absolute power of establishing the ports of entry and discharge for the commerce of the colony, and to invest them with any rights and privileges that he deemed expedient. Contributions from the people were made in the form of taxes, license money, fines and forfeitures. These were to be levied for military protection, for the pay of civil officers, for the erection of public buildings, for the making of public improvements, etc.²⁴ The King by the Charter bound himself and his successors to lay no taxes, customs, subsidies, or contributions whatever upon the colonists.²⁵ The Proprietary also had the power of alienating, selling or renting the land granted to him and his descendants by the Charter.

Under the financial aspect of the Charter arises the question as to whether Lord Baltimore had the right to coin money, a prerogative of sovereignty. Though this is not expressly mentioned in the document, he had this right as Proprietor of a palatinate.²⁶ Whether Calvert used it is not certain. M. F. Howley, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*,²⁷ gives an interesting account of the discovery of a coin at Waterville, Me., in June, 1880. He ascribes the Waterville Penny to Lord Baltimore's colony of Avalon, though he admits that the coin may belong to the Avalon of Somersetshire, England. Browne affirms that Baltimore in 1659 had dies cut for various denominations of currency. It is most probable, however, that coins were never used and that tobacco, from the first, remained almost the sole currency of the Province.²⁸

²⁴ Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

²⁵ Browne, *Maryland the History of a Palatinate*, p. 20.

²⁶ Osgood, *The Proprietary Province as a Form of Colonial Government*, article in *American Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 644 *et seq.*

²⁷ Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, pp. 87-9.

²⁸ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Such then is the Maryland Charter in brief outline. It gave the Proprietary extraordinary powers that might have proved oppressive to the colonists in the hands of a man less wise, just, and humane than Cecilius Calvert, who knew how to use them in the manner best fitted to attain the purposes for which the province was founded. "Though often attacked," remarks Browne,²⁹ "and at times held in abeyance, the charter was never revoked, and was only cast off when the arbitrary power of England had violated its pledges, and the people of Maryland, having outgrown their minority, were ready to take the sovereignty into their own hands."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

CHAPTER III

PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO MARYLAND

Since Lord Baltimore's colonization project was chiefly to secure religious toleration for the oppressed of every faith, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the religious state of affairs in England which led to the formation of his plan to secure this end. George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore, to whom is due the credit of conceiving this idea, was born in 1580, and became a Catholic in 1624. At the time of his conversion, James I, the first of the Stuart line, still occupied the throne.

On his accession, this monarch had been inclined to grant partial indulgence to his Catholic subjects. He owed it to their sufferings in the cause of his unfortunate mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and he had bound himself by promises to their envoys. But his secret wishes were opposed by his advisers, and, if he was ashamed to violate his word, he dreaded offending his Protestant subjects. At last, he compromised by drawing a distinction between their creed and the persons of the petitioners. To every prayer for the exercise of that worship, he returned a prompt and definite refusal. However, he invited Catholics to frequent his court and conferred on several the honors of knighthood. He even promised to shield them from the penalties of recusancy, as long as by their loyal and peaceable conduct they should deserve the royal favor.¹

The Puritans relied with equal confidence on the good-will of their sovereign. Their first petitions were couched in submissive language. But they gradually assumed a bolder attitude and demanded a thorough "reformation" both of the clergy and the liturgy. The king was irritated, perhaps alarmed; but he preferred conciliation to severity, and invited four of the leading clergymen of their persuasion to a conference at Hampton Court.

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, Vol. vii, p. 15.

Though the result of this conference disappointed the expectations of the non-conformists, they did not despair of bettering their condition; but the king, on the presentation of a petition in their favor, spoke of them with bitterness, which showed how little they had to hope for. It was, he said, to a similar petition that the rebellion in the Netherlands owed its origin: both his mother and he had been haunted by "Puritan devils" from their cradles; but he would hazard his very crown to suppress such malicious spirits; and not Puritans only, but also Papists, whom he hated so cordially that, if he thought it possible for his son and heir to grant them toleration in the time to come, he should fairly wish to see the young prince at that moment lying in his grave.² It was decided in the Star-Chamber that attempts to move the sovereign in matters of religion were to be construed as acts tending to sedition and rebellion. Orders were consequently issued to the judges and magistrates to enforce to the utmost the penal laws against non-conformists and recusants.

A law was passed in the first year of the reign of James I, confirming the statutes of Elizabeth, and enacting, "that the two-thirds of the estates seized should be retained after the convict's death, until all arrears of the penalties are paid, and then delivered over to the heir, provided he be no recusant. The one-third, however, left for his support, is not to be liable to seizure for the penalties. Persons going beyond the sea, to any Jesuit seminary, or not returning within one year after the end of the next session of parliament, were rendered as it respects themselves, incapable of purchasing or enjoying any lands or goods, etc. Women also and children under twenty-one, are restrained from passing over the seas without license from the king, or six of his Privy Council. The penalty of one hundred pounds, levied by 27 Eliz. c. 2, on those who send any child, or other person under their obedience, out of the realm, during her life, is here made

² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8.

perpetual. Persons likewise, who keep school, otherwise than in some university, public grammar-school, or in the houses of noblemen or gentlemen, not being recusant, without leave from the bishop, together with those who retain or maintain them, forfeit forty shillings for every day they so wittingly offend. The one half of these fines is for the king, the other for the informer.”³

In 1605, the “discovery” of the Gunpowder Plot involved the Catholics in fresh troubles. “To a thinking mind,” says Lingard, “the late conspiracy must have proved the danger and impolicy of driving men to desperation by the punishment of religious opinion. But the warning was lost; the existing enactments, oppressive and sanguinary as they were, appeared too indulgent; and though justice had been satisfied by the death and execution of the guilty, revenge and fanaticism sought out additional victims among the innocent.”⁴ A new code of laws was accordingly drawn up. It repealed none of the laws in force but added to their severity by two new bills containing more than seventy articles inflicting penalties on the Catholics.

Lingard gives us a digest of this legislation as follows: “1. Catholic recusants were forbidden, under particular penalties, to appear at court, to dwell within the boundaries, or ten miles of the boundaries, of the city of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from their homes, without a special license under the signatures of four neighboring magistrates. 2. They were made incapable of practicing in surgery or physic, or in the common or civil law; of acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any court or corporation; of presenting to the livings, schools, or hospitals in their gift; or of performing the offices of administrators, executors, or guardians. 3. Husbands and wives, unless they had been married by a Protestant minister, were made to forfeit every benefit to which he or she might otherwise be entitled from the property of the other; unless their

³ Madden, *The History of the Penal Laws enacted against Roman Catholics* pp. 169-170.

⁴ Lingard, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

children were baptized by a Protestant minister within a month after the birth, each omission subjected them to a fine of one hundred pounds; and, if after death they were not buried in a Protestant cemetery, their executors were liable to pay for each corpse the sum of twenty pounds. 4. Every child sent for education beyond the sea, was from that moment debarred from taking any benefit by devise, descent, or gift, until he should return and conform to the established church, all such benefit being assigned by law to the Protestant next of kin. 5. Every recusant was placed in the same situation as if he had been excommunicated by name; his house might be searched, his books and furniture, having or thought to have any relation to his worship or religion, might be burnt, and his horses and arms might be taken from him at any time by order of the neighboring magistrates. 6. All the existing penalties for absence from church were continued, but with two improvements: (a) It was made optional in the king, whether he would take the fine of twenty pounds per lunar month, or in lieu of it, all the personal, and two-thirds of the real estate; and (b) Every householder, of whatever religion, receiving Catholic visitors, or keeping Catholic servants, was liable to pay for each individual ten pounds per lunar month.”⁵

Throughout the reign of James I, the condition of Catholics was deplorable. The king himself might have bettered it had he the courage and the power to do so. In every political crisis and in any public excitement, Parliament was constantly clamoring for new edicts against the Catholics.⁶

The penal enactments during his reign were five:

An Act for the due execution of the statutes against Jesuits, seminary priests, recusants, &c.

An Act for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants.

An Act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by popish recusants.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶ Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

An Act. to cause persons to be naturalized or restored in blood, to conform and take the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

An Act for the reformation of married recusant women, and administration of the oath of allegiance to all civil, military, ecclesiastical and professional persons.⁷

Charles I succeeded James in 1625. Had he been left to follow the dictates of his naturally easy-going temperament, he would have been averse to persecution. Moreover, his marriage to Henrietta Maria, a Catholic, would have induced him to measures of justice towards those of her communion. But the increasing insolence of the Puritan fanatics, their constant accusations against him of favoring Catholics, induced him to make at least a pretense of enforcing the penal laws.⁸

"There is one thing," says Madden, "that ought to be borne in mind, in considering the persecution of the Catholics in those times—all the Stuarts were averse to the furious measures of their Parliaments against Catholics. They thought, as Charles the First especially did, according to Hume, 'that a little humanity was due by the nation to the religion of their ancestors.' Extreme rage against Roman Catholics was, from the first to last, the true characteristic of Puritanism, we are told by the same historian, and that rage was the only public interest that could be said to be truly represented in any Parliament of James, his son, or his grand-children."⁹

Such were the religious conditions about the time that Lord Baltimore decided to found an entirely new colony which should be a refuge for those of his own faith, which he should build up from the foundations, and where his quasi-royal rule would shelter Catholics from the operations of the penal statutes and the persecutions of fanaticism.¹⁰ Nor did he confine his plan of toleration to those of his own creed, for

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 19.

⁹ Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

¹⁰ Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, p. 28.

Calvert brought over settlers without regard to their religious opinions, making Maryland a home for all, a refuge to men who fled from the persecution alike of those who upheld the Church of England and those who while fugitives from that very persecution, were re-enacting it with fearful severity.¹¹ Aside from the fact that Maryland was the first of the proprietary governments, the colony is especially remembered in American history as the first in which religious toleration had a place.

The Maryland Charter had been granted to Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, on June 20, 1632, and he had at once taken measures to send an expedition to occupy his newly acquired territory. To assemble sufficient men for the project of colonization and to equip them with all necessaries for the voyage and for habitation in so distant a country as yet a wilderness occupied much time. Added to this, the Virginians caused further delay by their opposition to the Charter. The planters of Virginia were led to suppose that the soil upon which they trod was to be transferred to others. Accordingly a petition was drawn up in the name of the planters, and in May, 1633, laid before the king, in which they remonstrated "that some Grants have lately been obtained of a great proportion of Lands and Territorys within the lymitts of the Colonie there being the places of their Traffique, and so near to their habitations, as will give a generall disheartning to the Planters if they be divided into severall Governments, and a Barre to that Trade, which they have long exercised towards their Supportation and reliefe under the confidence of his Majesty's royall and gracious intentions towards them."¹²

The king referred the consideration of this matter to the Privy Council. On June 4, of the same year, the council framed an order, in which they appointed the 28th of that month, when the business should be heard and interested persons might attend. This being done, it was ordered that Lord Baltimore and those who championed the cause of the

¹¹ Shea, *Maryland and the Controversies as to her Early History*, in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. x, p. 658.

¹² III—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 21.

planters should meet and settle their controversy in a friendly manner. Their propositions were to be committed to writing and presented to their lordships on July 3, 1633. This order was complied with and it was finally ruled that it was fit "to leave the Lord Baltimore to his Patent and the other Partie to the course of Lawe according to their desire; but for the preventing of further questions their Lordships did also think fit and order that things standing as they doe, the Planters on either side shall have free traffique and commerce each with other, and that neither parte shall receive any fugitive persons belonging to the other, nor doe any Act which may drawe a warre from the Natives upon either of them; and lastly that they shall sincerely enterteine all good correspondence and assist each other on all occasions, in such manner as becometh fellow-subjects and members of the same state."¹³ However, this did by no means put an end to the annoyance from Virginia which was destined to last for many years and which was to reach its acute stage through the action of William Clayborne, a name that fills a conspicuous page in the early annals of the Maryland colony. The part played by Thomas Cornwaleys in helping to settle difficulties will be recounted in a subsequent chapter.

The summer and autumn of 1633 were spent in preparations on the part of Lord Baltimore for his new plantation. Finding that his presence was required in England to look after important business connected with his plantation, Cecilius Calvert reluctantly gave up the leadership of the enterprise, trusting "by the grace of God" to be in Maryland in the following year.¹⁴ It was imperative that he remain in England since it was ever necessary to guard the privileges of his Charter in the troubled years that ensued; and the Proprietary of Maryland never saw his distant province. He accordingly appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to the governorship of Maryland, a younger brother, George Calvert, accompanying the expedition.¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*; also Bozman, *History of Maryland*, Vol. II, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 134.

¹⁵ Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 16.

Enemies of the colonial project were ever on the alert to hinder Lord Baltimore's plans. Rumors were carried to the Privy Council that he intended to carry nuns over into Spain and also soldiers to serve the Spanish sovereign. When the Council laughed at these stories, the Attorney-General was induced "to make an information in the Star Chamber" that the vessels carrying the colonists had departed without proper custom house papers and in contempt of all authority, the emigrants abusing the king's officers and refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance.¹⁶

On October 19, 1633, Lord Coke, the British Secretary of State, informed Admiral Pennington that the *Ark* of which Richard Lowe was master, carrying men for Lord Baltimore to his new plantation, had sailed contrary to orders, the company not having taken the oath of allegiance. He was accordingly instructed to have the *Ark* and the *Dove* brought back. After the vessels were anchored near Gravesend, they were visited by Edward Watkins, the London Searcher, who administered the Oath of Allegiance to all whom he found on board.

Upon his return from this duty Watkins made the following report to the Privy Council:

According to your Lordship's order of the 25th day of this instant month of October, I have been at Tillbury Hope where I found a ship and pinnace belonging to the Right Honorable Cecil Lord Baltimore, where I offered the oath of allegiance to all and every the persons aboard, to the number of 128, who took the same, and inquiring of the master of the ship whether any more persons were to go the said voyage, he answered that some few others were shipped who had forsaken the ship and given over the voyage, by reason of the stay of said ships.¹⁷

That Thomas Cornwaleys took the oath of allegiance seems beyond doubt. He was one of the most prominent men of the expedition and in all probability on the *Ark* when the oath was tendered. Whether it was lawful for a Catholic

¹⁶ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 41; also Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁷ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, pp. 67-8.

to take the Oath was a much mooted question at the time. Those who held that the Oath contained matter objectionable to Catholic belief had the better of the argument. However, since the question was not finally decided, we cannot censure Cornwaleys for taking the Oath when asked to do so.¹⁸

Whilst the ships were still lying in Cowes harbor at the Isle of Wight, Lord Baltimore, on November 13, 1633, sent a list of Instructions to Leonard Calvert, Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys, for the government of the expedition during the voyage and upon their arrival at their destination.¹⁹ The letter reveals the wisdom of Cecilius Calvert. That religious toleration was uppermost in his mind is evident from the opening paragraph. The first "Instruction" is couched in this language:

I. Inpri: His Lopp requires his said Governor and Commissioners that in their voyage to Mary Land they be very careful to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on Shipp-board, and that they suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just Complaint may heereafter be made by them, in Virginea or in England, and that for that end they Cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and that they instruct all the Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion; and that the said Governor and Commissioners treat the Protestants wth as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit. And this to be observed at Land as well as at Sea.

The instructions that followed are not without interest. Diligent inquiry was to be made among the sailors and passengers to ascertain what they knew concerning the plots of his Lordship's adversaries to overthrow his voyage. They should find out the names and actions of any concerned in the plots together with all the circumstances. Any information gotten on the voyage or after their arrival in the colony

¹⁸ For the text of the Oath of Allegiance, cf. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-30. For an account of the controversy on the Oath, cf. Dodd, *Church History of England*, Vol. iv; also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article "Oath of Allegiance," pp. 177 *et seq.*

¹⁹ The complete letter is to be found in the *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 131 *et seq.*

was to be sent in writing to the Proprietary by a trusty messenger "in the next shippes that returne for England."

Upon their arrival at the coast of Virginia, they are not to go to Jamestown or to Point Comfort "unless they should be foret unto it by some extremity of weather (which God forbidd) for the preservation of their lives and goodes, and that they find it altogether impossible otherwise to preserve themselves." They were to inquire upon arrival if anyone could guide them to the "Bay of Chesapeacke" and "Pattawomeck River" in order to find a proper place for their settlement.

Whilst engaged in looking for an appropriate location, they were directed to send a trustworthy messenger, who should be a member of the Church of England to carry the royal instructions to the Governor and Council of Virginia. This messenger was also to take a personal letter from Baltimore to Sir John Harvey in which he expressed his regret that he could not come personally to Maryland till the next year. He desired a "good correspondency" with him and the Plantation of Virginia. He furthermore assures Harvey of his particular affection to his person by reason of the reports of his worth, and for the kind letters Harvey sent the Proprietary since he heard of Baltimore's intention to become his neighbor.

With respect to Claiborne, Baltimore's policy was shrewd and peaceable. As soon as convenient, a man of the Church of England was to take a letter to him, notifying him of the arrival of the colonists, and of the authority over the province committed to Leonard Calvert, Hawley and Cornwaleys, and inviting him to speak with them on business of importance. If Claiborne agrees to meet the Maryland authorities he is to be courteously received and to be assured of Baltimore's willingness to give all the encouragement he can to proceed in the plantation that he had settled within his Lordship's precincts. In case Claiborne does not accept the invitation, he is not to be disturbed for the first year, until the Proprietary can give further instructions. Meanwhile the colonists are to keep informed as to the progress of his plantation and his designs, and furthermore his strength and his cor-

respondence with Virginia. They are also to keep posted as to the manner in which the Virginians view the Maryland Charter.

The other portions of the letter concern the colonists themselves. Upon their choice of a plantation his Majesty's letters patent are to be publicly read before the people, after which, his Lordship's Commission was to be laid before them. Either the Governor or one of the Commissioners is to declare his Lordship's intentions which are: The honor of God to be secured by the conversion of the savages to Christianity, the extension of his Majesty's domains, to provide for the success and comfort of those who have made great sacrifices to plant the colony. Finally an oath of allegiance is to be administered to all to give public assurance of their fidelity and allegiance to his Majesty.

The colonists are to provide a suitable place for a fort. Near this is to be built a house for the Governor or other Commissioners with a church or chapel adjacent. The planters are to receive a proper allotment of land whereon to build their homes. These are to be built uniformly and as near to the others as possible. Streets are to be marked off. An account of this is to be sent to Lord Baltimore so that he may be satisfied that justice had been done to every man. Military protection is provided for by the training and drilling of men at stated times.

"In this interesting document," says Browne,²⁰ "we see the principles of Baltimore's policy, and the germs of the polity of Maryland. Religious toleration, 'unity and peace' between members of different faiths, began on the *Ark* and *Dove*. Whether we attribute it to wise policy, to the cogency of circumstances, or to a liberal and tolerant spirit, in advance of his age, on the part of the proprietary, the fact remains the same that equal justice and Christian charity to both Catholic and Protestant was the key-note of his rule . . . No one, we think, can read these instructions without seeing that they proceed from a wise, just and generous man."

²⁰ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND

After the colonists left Gravesend, where they seem to have been detained for several weeks, the *Ark* and the *Dove* took on board among others two Jesuit Fathers, Andrew White and John Altham. The personnel of the party being complete with the arrival of these, we can now consider the number of the passengers on the two ships. And this cannot be stated with any estimate approaching exactitude. Lord Baltimore wrote to Lord Wentworth before the departure that besides his two brothers, "very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion" had accompanied the expedition.¹

Cecilus Calvert in the "Conditions of Plantation" published in a work entitled *A Relation of Maryland*,² gives a list containing "The names of the Gentlemen adventurers that are gone in person to this Plantation": Leonard Calvert, the Governor; George Calvert, his Lordship's brothers; Jerome Hawley, Esq., Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq., the Commissioners; Richard Gerard, son to Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight and Baronet; Edward Wintour, Frederick Wintour, sonnes of the Lady Anne Wintour; Henry Wiseman, son to Sir Thomas Wiseman, Knight; John Saunders, Edward Cranfield, Henry Greene, Nicholas Ferfax, John Baxter, Thomas Dorrell, Captaine John Hill, John Madcalfe, William Saire."

Besides these gentlemen many others went along as is evident. The London Searcher mentioned in the last chapter reported that about one hundred and twenty-eight had taken the Oath of Allegiance. This number was added

¹ Radcliffe, *Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Wentworth Strafford*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-9.

² *A Relation of Maryland*, edited by Francis L. Hawks, p. 65. This work must not be confounded with Father White's *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, nor with *A Brief Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland* (*Calvert Papers*, No. III). In our notes, when referring to Father White's work, the word "Relatio" is used, while in referring to the other, "A Brief Relation" is used.

to when they left Gravesend so that it was brought up to three hundred.³

Richardson, in *Side-Lights on Maryland History*,⁴ mentions some of the party that travelled on the *Ark*, and others that went on the *Dove*. On the former were the following: Leonard Calvert; the Commissioners, Hawley and Cornwaleys; Richard Lowe, Master of the *Ark*, John Bowlter, Purser; Richard Edwards, Surgeon; on the latter: Captain Wintour, commander of the *Dove*; Richard Orchard, Master of the *Dove*; Samuel Lawson, mate; John Games, gunner; Richard Kenton, boatswain; John Curke and Nicholas Parrie, of the crew.

There are two accounts of the voyage of the ships to Maryland. One of these is the *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* of Father White, written towards the end of April, 1634, to the General of the Society of Jesus, Mutius Vitellesetis; the other is entitled *A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland* authenticated by Leonard Calvert himself, and sent to England on the return of the *Ark*.⁵

On the twenty-second of the month of November, in the year 1633, being St. Cecilia's Day (Friday), we set sail from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight . . . after committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God especially, and of his most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland.⁶

The voyagers soon encountered stormy weather in which the *Dove* was driven from her sister-ship and was not seen again for six weeks, the crew of the *Ark* thinking all the while that "shee had assuredly beene foundered and lost in those huge seas." Sweeping around by the Barbadoes and other West India Islands, the two vessels which had joined company, glided peacefully at last between the capes into the bay which Spanish navigators named in honor of the Mother

³ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 72; also Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, p. 45.

⁴ Pages 8-9.

⁵ *The Calvert Papers*, No. III, pp. 26 *et seq.*

⁶ *A Brief Relation*, p. 28.

of God, but which was to bear the Indian name of Chesapeake.⁷

Leonard Calvert, writing to Sir Richard Lechford,⁸ states that they arrived in Virginia on February 27, where they remained for eight or nine days to land some passengers and to deliver the King's letters to Governor Harvey. The *Relation*⁹ confesses that the landing was "much contrary" to the Lord Proprietary's instructions. The reason for so doing is not apparent unless it be that they had some presage that the attitude of the Virginians was not so hostile as anticipated by Cecilius Calvert. Harvey received them very courteously though against the will of his council. The *Relation* also states that Captain Claiborne was there from whom they understood that the Indians were prepared to resist the colonists, having heard that six Spanish ships were coming to destroy them. The author then remarks that "the rumour was most like to have begunne from himselfe."¹⁰

Calvert now proceeded up the bay to the territory embraced within his Charter. Near the Island of St. Clement they came to anchor. "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary in the year 1634," writes Father White, "we celebrated the mass for the first time, on this island. This had never been done before in this part of the world. After we had completed the sacrifice, we took upon our shoulders a great cross, which we had hewn out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the Governor and his associates and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting on our bended knees, the Litanies of the Sacred Cross, with great emotion."¹¹

With what fervor Cornwaleys and his associates must have assisted at the celebration of the holy Sacrifice! Many

⁷ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. I, p. 41.

⁸ *Calvert Papers*, No. III, p. 20.

⁹ *A Brief Relation*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Relatio*, p. 33. The Litany of the Holy Cross is to be found in *The Catholic World*, Vol. 39, p. 41.

a prayer went up to heaven for the success of their colonial project. With enthusiasm they erected the sign of salvation to declare to the bystanders and to posterity as well, in this act, that Christ was to reign in Maryland. It was to remain a sign of good will towards all. Religious toleration was to find a realization. The oppressed in conscience were here to find a refuge. Here was erected the first altar to religious liberty on this continent; and the fires first kindled on it ascended to heaven amid the blessings of the savage.¹²

With the religious rites just mentioned began the acts of the settlers in their own land. The Governor's next step was to establish friendly relations with the tribes of the locality. Hearing that the chief of Piscataway had a sort of suzerainty over the other Indians, he resolved to meet him to declare to him the objects of his expedition. Sailing up the Potomac he first came to a town, where a werowance, or king, lived. This chief was but a child, and his uncle Archichu acted as regent. Archichu received them with marks of kindness, and at their departure invited them to visit him again.¹³

Leaving these hospitable Indians, Leonard Calvert proceeded to Piscataway, the seat of the emperor, where five hundred bowmen came to meet them at the water side. The chieftain came on board the ship, where he was kindly received. Being assured of the friendly intentions of the colonists, he gave them leave to settle wherever they pleased.¹⁴ On this occasion, Captain Henry Fleete, an Englishman, who lived among the Indians and was conversant with their language, acted as Calvert's interpreter.¹⁵

The Indians gradually lost their fear and awe of the colonists once they were convinced of their friendly attitude

¹² McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, p. 198.

¹³ *A Brief Relation*, p. 40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Captain Fleete came to Virginia at an early age in life. He was captured by the Indians on the Potomac in 1623; remained a captive until 1627, during which time he became familiar with the Indian tongue. Later he became an interpreter, trader and legislator in Maryland. He finally settled at Fleet's Bay in Lancaster County, Virginia, and represented the County in the House of Burgesses, 1652. The date of his death is not recorded. Cf. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 892.

towards them. In the quaint language of the period, the *Relation* chronicles that "the Indians began to lose their feare and come . . . sometimes aboard our shipp, wondering where that tree should grow, out of which so great a canow should be hewen, supposing it all of one piece, as their canows used to be, they trembled to heare our ordinance thinking them fearefuller then any thunder they had ever heard."¹⁶

Calvert, not finding a suitable location for a town, decided, upon his return to St. Clement's, to follow Fleete's advice and drop some nine leagues further down the Potomac to look for a site. Fleete was a very capable guide owing to his knowledge of the place and on account of his favor with the aborigines. The Governor had some apprehensions as to Fleete's attitude toward his colonial scheme, consequently he offered him a portion of the beaver trade in order to win his good-will. Accepting the offer, Fleete led Calvert's party to "a most convenient harbour, and pleasant Countrey lying on each side of it, with many large fields of excellent land cleared from all wood."¹⁷ This place was on a river now known as the St. Mary's, four or five leagues from the mouth of the Potomac, and was known as the town of Yoacomico.

Calvert was greatly pleased with the place and resolved upon an interview with the Indian chief. The "king of Yoacomaco" was accordingly offered "axes, hoes, cloth and hatchets" for the place. Accepting these, it was agreed that the colonists might live on one part of the town, the Indians surrendering to them their houses and some corn which they had planted. At the end of the harvest the savages were to give over the other portion of the village. The two parties also entered into a treaty to live together in peace and harmony as long as they were neighbors.¹⁸

Thirty miles of ground were secured from the Indians at this time, and the high-sounding name of Augusta Carolina

¹⁶ Page 41.

¹⁷ *Calvert Papers*, No. III, p. 21.

¹⁸ *A Brief Relation*, p. 41.

was given to it. This name was not much used however, and was soon superseded by the name of St. Mary's County. The town itself was given the name of St. Mary's.¹⁹

After the landing at St. Mary's fortifications were soon erected "sufficient to defend against any such weak enemies as we have reason to expect here."²⁰ Streeter is of the opinion that this work was entrusted to Thomas Cornwaleys, the "Captain." In fact, the intrepidity and military skill of Cornwaleys was such that he was at once made the leader of the armed forces of the colony, and his individuality was so distinctly established that, though there were others in the province who bore the same military title, it was only in alluding to him in particular that the title "the Captain" was used.²¹

Mindful of Cecilius Calvert's Instructions that they received before their departure from England, a ceremony was arranged in which the Charter was read, together with the Proprietary's commission. Then was also announced the intention of Calvert in founding the province, the conversion of the savages to Christianity, to extend the King's dominions, and to do all that can be done for the good of those who had given themselves and their fortunes to the project. The colonists also pledged their allegiance to the crown on this occasion.²²

The settlers now set about building their houses. First in order was the building of a suitable abode for the Governor. Father White was not content to wait till a chapel was built, but immediately converted an Indian's habitation into a chapel which he dedicated to the service of God as the first chapel in Maryland.²³ The planters built their houses close to one another, on regular streets, with gardens back of them. In accordance with the conditions of plantation which provided "that any Englishman who transported

¹⁹ Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 35.

²⁰ *Calvert Papers*, No. III, p. 21.

²¹ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, pp. 125-6.

²² *Calvert Papers*, No. I, p. 136.

²³ *Relatio*, p. 39.

himself, properly equipped, which equipment was duly itemized and with transportation charges estimated at twenty pounds, should receive for himself in freehold estate one hundred acres, with the same amount for his wife, fifty acres for each child above sixteen years of age, and fifty acres for each woman servant under the age of forty years, paying a quit-rent of twelve pence in the commodities of the country for every fifty acres. For each male servant between the ages of sixteen and fifty years so transported, one hundred acres should be given on like conditions, while for every five men transported, the adventurer received not five hundred, but one thousand acres, to be erected into a manor with all the privileges of the English ones." ²⁴

In the meantime the colonists lived on the most friendly terms with the Indians. They hunted together and enjoyed the fruit of the chase. The Indian women instructed the wives of the planters in the methods of cooking products of the soil with which the English were not familiar. The Indians cooperated with the colonists since both had to fear the incursions of the northern tribes who were not so well disposed and who were to give the colonists trouble of which we shall speak in a later chapter.

²⁴ Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.

CHAPTER V

CORNWALEYS AND KENT ISLAND

Affairs in the infant colony seemed to have reached a stage when the colonists could set about undisturbed to carry out the lofty purposes for which they had left the shores of their native land. They were free from Indian hostilities and, under the wise leadership of Leonard Calvert, success in their colonial enterprise was assured. Serious trouble, however, was to arise in a quarter from which they might have looked for nothing else than friendship and cooperation.

The animosity of the Virginians seemed to increase as the prosperity of the Maryland colony became more assured. The causes of Virginia's irritation were three—they were exasperated that the Maryland Charter comprised land that had once been included in their own; they looked with distrust and dislike on what they were pleased to call a popish settlement; and they were aggrieved that the Marylanders had the privilege of trade in foreign markets, which they did not enjoy.¹

To lodge a complaint on any of these scores seemed futile to them at the time. Should they be able to find a flaw in the Charter of Lord Baltimore, they thought that something might be done. We have seen how they registered an objection with the Privy Council against the Charter, but with no success. Despite this fact, they did not lose heart. Claiborne's claim to Kent Island was to become the bone of contention. As Browne remarks, "The trivial question whether a small and unprofitable trading-post should be held mediately or immediately under the King, served as the rallying-point for all the animosities of a generation; and the territorial quarrel of Virginia and Maryland, the religious quarrel of Puritan and Catholic, and the political quarrel of Royalist and Roundhead, all gathered around the claim of Claiborne."²

¹ Browne, *Maryland the History of a Palatinate*, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Claiborne had established his trading-post on Kent Island in the Chesapeake, but did not receive any grant of land or attempt to cultivate the soil. The undertaking was unprosperous and a quarrel arose between him and Cloberry & Company, merchants of London, who financed Claiborne's trading venture, each casting the blame on the other. The Londoners asked Lord Baltimore for a grant of the land, intending to oust Claiborne. Calvert did not grant this request as he was desirous of gaining the good will of Claiborne, if possible, to make a friend of one who might become a valuable member of his infant colony.³

Governor Calvert was soon to find out that Claiborne was not to be conciliated. According to his instruction, the Governor informed Claiborne that Kent Island was in Maryland territory. The latter (who did not reside on the Island but in Virginia) rose up in the council and asked what he was to do. The assembly informed him that they saw no reason why the island should be given up. They advised him to do nothing for the present and recommended that a good understanding should be kept up with the Maryland colonists. Governor Harvey tried to do all in his power to preserve friendly relations and even received orders to this effect from the King. But Harvey could do little since a majority in council were ready to thwart every attempt to carry out these orders.⁴

On the 4th of September, 1634, Lord Baltimore directed a set of new instructions "to his brother, Leonard Calvert, and others, his Lordship's Commissioners for the Government of Mariland," of which, the eighth article alone is extant. It reads as follows:

That if possibly they can, without notable prejudice to their owne Collony, for want of sufficient strength to defend themselves, and that Capt. William Claiborne, at the arrivall of these Instructions, continue his unlawfull courses and have not submitted

³ Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

himself unto his Lordship's Patent, they seize upon his person and detaine him close prisoner at St. Maries, upon that accusation against him in Capt. Fleete's examination, and that other they have since found against him; for which, his Lordship conceiveth by his former behaviors there will not be wanting cause enough on his parte. That they likewise take possession if they can, of his Plantation, in the Isle of Kent, till upon notice given thereof, to his Lordship, they have further directions what to do with him.⁵

Before these instructions reached the colony, the Governor and Commissioners of Maryland lodged a complaint with the Governor and Council of Virginia charging Claiborne "with evil practises with the Indians, to the subversion of both colonies." On December 8th, the Commissioners were prepared to substantiate their charges. Their witnesses being examined at James City, the findings were transmitted to England. Claiborne could not be dealt with according to Baltimore's instructions owing to the strong sentiment in his favor in Virginia and that same colony's opposition to Maryland.⁶

"Good correspondency" between the two colonies of Maryland and Virginia could not last long when one of the parties was bent on making trouble. The planters of Baltimore's palatinate soon found that the Indians were not as hospitable and friendly as was their wont. The cause was laid by Fleete at Claiborne's door. He accused the latter of trying to persuade the Indians that the Marylanders were not Englishmen but Spaniards bent upon the destruction of the English. One hesitates to believe that Claiborne would have instigated the Indians against men of his own race; and in justice to him it must be stated that when the Indians were questioned on the matter, it was imputed to Fleete that he had prevaricated. The affair was, however, reported to Lord Baltimore. Calvert sent out instructions that Claiborne was to be taken prisoner in case he continued hostilities, and possession was to be taken of Kent Island.⁷

⁵ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-2.

⁷ Browne, *Maryland, etc.*, p. 32.

Meanwhile the first session of the Assembly of Maryland was held on February 26, 1635, at which Thomas Cornwaleys was no doubt present. The acts of this Assembly with the exception of one have not come down to us. But, either as a result of action taken at its sessions or owing to the deliberation of the Commissioners, it was decided to have recourse to stringent measures to stop the unlicensed trading with the Indians within Maryland territory without a permit from the Governor.

On March 26, 1635, Claiborne sent Thomas Smith in the pinnace *Longtail* to trade for corn and furs. Smith alleged that he had letters patent from the King for Claiborne to trade in the colonies of America. On the 4th of April he arrived at Mattapany, on the Patuxent River, to trade in the neighborhood of St. Mary's. The next day he was met by Capt. Fleete and Capt. Humber who demanded his license to trade. On presenting his papers, Fleete examined the same and said that they did not permit Claiborne to trade further than the Isle of Kent. Humber asserted that the permit was false. The two Captains thereupon took Smith and brought him to St. Mary's before Cornwaleys who was acting as deputy in the absence of Leonard Calvert. When Smith complained that his ship was seized, Cornwaleys told him that Fleete and Humber had done no more than they were ordered to do, namely, to stop all vessels they should find trading in the Province. Cornwaleys further stated that Smith's credentials were mere forgeries and at any rate covered merely Kent Island. After two days, Calvert returned and sent for Smith and his party at Cornwaleys's house. The Governor decided to keep the vessel. He refused to allow the men to return to Kent Island though they might go to Virginia or to England. Smith refused the permission and said that the Kent Islanders were in need of corn. Calvert answered that this could not be. After waiting for four or five days without prospect of the release of the pinnace, Smith asked for a boat with which to return home. This request was denied but Calvert allowed him to

arrange with the Indians for transportation and the Islanders were sent away with only one gun, the property of Smith, and without victuals.⁸

To retaliate for the loss of the *Longtail*, Claiborne immediately granted a warrant to Lieutenant Ratcliffe Warren to seize and capture any of the pinnaces or other vessels belonging to the government of St. Mary's. An armed boat was fitted out, manned with about thirty men from Kent Island under Warren's command. When Calvert heard of this, he equipped two vessels and sent them out under command of Captain Thomas Cornwaleys. The two pinnaces were known as the *St. Margaret* and the *St. Helen*. Cornwaleys was ordered to proceed to Kent to put down the rising rebellion. During a cruise in the bay some of Claiborne's vessels were found trading without license. They were accordingly seized as lawful prizes.

On the 23rd of April, 1635, an encounter took place between Warren's vessel, the *Cockatrice* and Cornwaleys' ships. The hostile craft met in the Pocomoke River. Here was fought the first naval battle upon the inland waters of America.⁹ In the combat that followed, both sides suffered the loss of life. The casualty list comprises the following who were killed: William Ashmore, of Cornwaleys' party; Lieutenant Warren, John Belson, William Dawson and three others, of Claiborne's company.¹⁰

In the Proceedings of the Assembly,¹¹ we find the following account of this event.

then was the house moved by the Attorney to enquire of the death of william Ashmore, Ratcliffe warren, John Bellson, & william dawson, and the house having heard the evidence of Cyprian Throughgood, John nevell, Cuthbert ffenwich & Edward ffeete did find that the said Ratcliffe warren, John Bellson, william dawson with divers others did assault the vessells of Capt. Thomas Cornwaleys & his company feloniously and as pyrates & robbers to take the said

⁸ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 141 *et seq.*

⁹ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. 1, p. 109.

¹⁰ Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 58.

¹¹ *I—Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, p. 17.

vessels; and did discharge divers peices charged with bullets & shott against the said Thomas Cornwaleys & his company; wherevpon & after such assault made the said Thomas Cornwaleys and his company in defence of themselves & safeguard of their lives not being able to flie further from them after warning given to the assailants to desist from assaulting them at their owne perill, did discharge some gunnes vpon the said Ratcliffe warren and his company; of wch. shotts the said Ratcliff warren John Bellson, and william dawson died; and so they find that the said Tho: Cornwaleys & his company did lawfully & in their owne necessary defence kill the said Ratcliff warren John Bellson and william dawson; and doe acquitt the said Thomas Cornwaleys & his company of the death of the said Ratcliff warren John Bellson and william dawson.

and they further find that the said Ratcliff warren, and his company did discharge their gunnes against the said Thomas Cornwaleys and his company and did kill the said william Ashmore being one of the company of the said Thomas Cornwaleys; as felons pyrates, and murthers.

It does not appear that the surviving comrades of Warren were taken prisoners by Cornwaleys;—they probably returned with their wounded and dead to the Island of Kent, while he and his party continued their cruise down the bay.¹²

On May 10, the Captain encountered, in the Great Wicomoco River, which was, in fact, within the boundaries of Virginia, another boat belonging to Kent Island, commanded by Smith, with which there was some collision, though no bloodshed ensued. After this, Cornwaleys' expedition returned to St. Mary's.¹³

The attempt against Kent Island on the part of Cornwaleys was only partially successful. Claiborne succeeded in obtaining assistance in Virginia, where Harvey's government had been superseded by another, and, though much crippled by the action of the Marylanders, by his personal influence and effort, without aid from his partners in London, he succeeded for nearly three years in maintaining himself

¹² Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹³ *Ibid.*

upon the Island, and in prosecuting an uncertain traffic with the natives, who were, in general, friendly towards him.¹⁴

In May, 1637, a letter was directed by the King to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations and all other royal officers. In this document were reviewed the grants of Avalon, in Newfoundland, and Maryland to the Lords Baltimore and the transportation of colonies to each province. Owing to the danger that some patents may be issued prejudicial to Lord Baltimore's patents, Charles I, strictly orders that all applications for grants of land near either province be delayed, until the Proprietary should be notified. The King also announces his intention not to issue any writ for the overthrow of either the Charters of Avalon or Maryland.¹⁵

Late in the year 1636, Captain George Evelin arrived at Kent Island as agent and commander of the island. Evelin soon became a convert to the justice of Lord Baltimore's claims in regard to that place. The favorable disposition of the King, the complaisance of Evelin and the determination of the Proprietary to press matters soon determined the Governor to take decisive steps to subdue Kent Island and to put an end to the long-standing trouble that disturbed the peace and prosperity of his colonial domains.

In November 1637, Governor Calvert wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Kent Island in which he promised a general pardon for past offenses if they would cease their opposition and submit to his government. He furthermore told them that he would appoint as their commander any one whom they would choose from among their number. Due to the influence of a brother-in-law of Claiborne, John Butler, and Thomas Smith, the islanders refused the offer. Hereupon Calvert appointed Evelin. Leonard Calvert now took twenty musketeers from St. Mary's under command of Capt. Cornwaleys. They intended to seize Butler and Smith and bring the rest to a better state of mind. Owing to adverse

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁵ *III—Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 55; also Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

weather conditions, Calvert was forced to abandon the expedition after remaining out a week.¹⁶ Cornwaleys does not seem to have been in full harmony with Calvert on this occasion. This conclusion may be drawn from the opening lines of a letter of Cornwaleys to Cecilius Calvert, on April 16, 1638. The Captain writes:

I receaued yr. Letr. dated the 25: of May last for wch. and yr therein nobly proffered favoures, I should before this time haue retourned humble thanks, had I not hoped in person toe haue kist yr. hands this yeere in England. But yr. Lops. Service and the pretended Good of Maryland, would not permit mee toe provide for my Journy, nor yet toe follow my owne affayres when my best diligence had beene most vrgently needefull for the Accomodating of them toe my best Advantage.¹⁷

In virtue of a commission dated December 30, 1637, directed to him at Kent Island, Captain Evelin was appointed Commander of the Island and its inhabitants, an office he held before from Cloberry & Co. He was constituted with authority to choose six or more efficient men of the place as his counsel. He was empowered to call a Court as often as occasion demanded and to determine any civil case in which not more than ten pounds sterling was involved in damages or demands, criminal cases to be decided to the extent of the jurisdiction of any justice of the peace in England, not extending to life and member. For the execution of justice and the conservation of the peace, he could appoint all necessary officers who were to receive the same fee as the officers of the same standing in Virginia.¹⁸

After Evelin had received this commission, he came to Kent Island in company with Zachary Mottershead of Maryland, who brought with him the Patent of Maryland which was to be read to them. John Butler then demanded if Evelin were an agent for Cloberry & Co., or for the Marylanders. Evelin answered that he was agent for both. He

¹⁶ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 182.

¹⁷ Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 71 (note). This letter is to be found in *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 169.

¹⁸ *III—Archives of Maryland*, p. 59.

further stated that he himself had spoken against the Maryland Charter and held Claiborne's commission "firm and good against the same, and that the Marylanders had nothing to doe with the Ile of Kent." He also declared that he had seen the Patent of Lord Baltimore and recognized his rights "that he was formerly mistaken and overseene as he perceived now they were, but he himselfe now understood it better."¹⁹ He then told them that it was better to live under Lord Baltimore's government and enjoy the advantages of trade which they could not enjoy under Virginia. Claiborne's patent, he assured them, gave him license to trade in Nova Scotia and New England but not in the Chesapeake.²⁰

The same day that Leonard Calvert issued his commission to Evelin, Thomas Cornwaleys was given the following license to trade:

Know all persons whom it concerneth, that I have & hereby give free Liberty and License to Thomas Cornwallis Esqr: and one of the Council of this Province to trade with any the Indians of this Province for corne or Roanoke or peake, and the same to utter and Sell to any of the Inhabitants of this Province, and no further or otherwise, this License to endure until I shall signifie the Contrary. In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this 30th of December 1637.

LEONARD CALVERT.²¹

On February 17, 1637, a proclamation was issued signed by Leonard Calvert, Jerome Hawley and John Lewger for an expedition to the Isle of Kent. In the document it is stated that the inhabitants had committed many piracies, insolences, mutinies and contempts against the government. Warrants were issued against malefactors which were disregarded. Even prisoners were forcibly rescued from the hands of the law by the people. Worst of all, they were

¹⁹ V—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, pp. 185, 203, 209, 218.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 203, 218. Calvert's commission is dated in the month of December. The *Archives* state that this event took place in November. Furthermore the commission is also referred to as having been given in November. Cf. Letter of Leonard Calvert to his brother, in *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 182.

²¹ III—*Archives*, p. 57.

conspiring with the Indians against the Marylanders. It was therefore decided that the Governor sail against them with a sufficient number of armed men under the leadership of Captain Cornwaleys to reduce the inhabitants to subjection by martial law and even to punish the offenders by death if need be.²²

A letter of Leonard Calvert to the Proprietary dated April 25, 1638, describes the taking of Kent Island.²³ He states that thirty choice musketeers formed the military party. Smith and Boteler were taken prisoner. Calvert then issued a proclamation of a general amnesty for all the inhabitants provided they submitted to the Maryland government within twenty-four hours. This the people consented to do. Calvert thereupon assured them of his intention to do all that he could for their well-being, provided they deserved such treatment. Whilst at the Island, the Governor held court and heard divers cases between the settlers. At the end of its session, he assembled the inhabitants to make choice of their delegates to the Assembly which was to be held at St. Mary's for the making of laws. Before Calvert departed he told the islanders that any man that held or wished to acquire land should take out a patent for the same under the seal of the Province. He promised to come the next summer with Mr. Lewger who was to survey the land and give them the grants reserving only such rents and services to the Proprietary as the law of the province should appoint.

At a session of the Assembly on March 14, 1637, an Act of Attainder against William Claiborne was introduced. The bill for the same was read a second time on the following day, and on March 16 [the bill] was passed.²⁴ As a result, all the property of Claiborne within the Province became forfeited to the Lord Proprietor.²⁵

On March 14, 1637, began the trial of Thomas Smith. He was indicted on a charge of piracy. After hearing the evi-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²³ *Calvert Papers*, No. I, pp. 182 *et seq.*

²⁴ *I—Archives*, pp. 16, 18, 21.

²⁵ *Bozman, History of Maryland*, Vol. II, p. 64.

dence in the case, he was found guilty. The President then pronounced sentence in the name of all the freemen. It read:

Thomas Smith you have been indicted of felony and pyracie, to your indictmt. you have pleaded not guilty, and you have beene tried by the freemen in this generall Assembly, who have found you guilty, and pronounce this sentence upon you, that you shall be carried from hence to the place from whence you came, and thence to the place of exequution, and shalbe there hanged by the neck till you be dead; and that all your lands goods & chattels shalbe forfeited to the Lord Proprietr., saving that your wife shall have her dower, And so God have mercy vpon your soule.²⁶

Then the prisoner demanded his clergy. Since the assistance of ministers of religion to attend the condemned was denied in certain crimes, the President answered that this could not be allowed in this case, and if it might, yet it was now too late after judgment.²⁷ Since no record appears after this transaction in regard to Smith, it is not certain what his final fate was though it is probable that he was executed in accordance with the sentence.²⁸ With regard to Boteler, he was not tried, as Calvert hoped, by showing him favor, to win him and to make of him, if possible, a good member of his colony and, if his good disposition toward the Proprietary warranted it, to give him the command of the Isle of Kent.²⁹ Boteler seems to have come up to the expectations of Calvert as he was later appointed to the command of the militia of the Island. This confidence was not misplaced. He remained faithful to the government, and held various offices of trust in the province until his death in 1642.³⁰

The Kent islanders, who were a peaceful folk, accepted the situation very cheerfully, had their lands, to which they had as yet no title, confirmed to them, and in all ways deported themselves as good citizens.³¹

²⁶ *I—Archives*, pp. 16 and 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸ *Bozman, op. cit.*, p. 65 (note).

²⁹ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 186.

³⁰ *Browne, G. and C. Calvert*, p. 82.

³¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

CORNWALEYS AS LEGISLATOR

From the events related in the preceding chapter in which Captain Cornwaleys played so conspicuous a part, one is led to believe that his services to the Maryland colony were chiefly of a military nature. Were the records of those early days still in existence, they would, no doubt, tell us many interesting facts relating to Cornwaleys' career as a Commissioner. In this capacity, he must often have been called upon to aid and counsel Governor Calvert in his projects for the prosperity of the Palatinate. Cornwaleys' wholehearted zeal for the welfare of the colonists that was brought into play in subsequent days, must surely have been in evidence in the first years of Maryland when the services of just such a man were so valuable and indispensable.

Cornwaleys' expedition to Kent Island was the last public service performed by him in his capacity of Commissioner. Before the opening of the General Assembly of 1638, a new commission was brought by Secretary Lewger. Captain Cornwaleys was retained as an adviser of the executive, but under the title of *Councillor*, in conjunction with Hawley and Lewger.¹

The General Assembly of 1638 is the first of which we have any record. However, this was not the first Assembly held. An Assembly was held on February 26, 1635, just eleven months after the colonists had taken possession of their new territory. Its proceedings would without doubt form a most interesting chapter in the early annals of Maryland, but unfortunately no account remains to tell the story. The very fact of its being held would have been lost to us had it not been for a casual reference to one of its acts in the proceedings of the Assembly held on March 24, 1637: "whereas by an Act of General Assemblie held at St Maries on the six and twentieth day of Febr'y 1634 among other wholesome

¹ Bozman, *History of Maryland*, Vol. II, p. 46.

lawes and ordinances then made and provided for the welfare of this Province, it was enacted, that the Offenders in all murthers and felonies should suffer such paines, losses and forfeitures as they should or ought to have suffered in the like crimes in England.”²

The Second General Assembly of Maryland was held at St. Mary's and opened on the 25th of January, 1637. The freemen of the Province had received due notice to repair to the Assembly, either personally or through their representatives. According to Streeter,³ some attempts at civil division had already been made in the colony. All the settlements were regarded as forming the County of St. Mary's; and different localities, as they became sufficiently populous, were designated *hundreds*. St. Mary's Hundred included the dwellings and plantations within the vicinity of the town of that name; St. George's Hundred, embraced the settlers that resided on the west bank of the river of the same name; Mattapanient was the name of a settlement, not yet numerous, on the Patuxent River, and not yet dignified by the designation of a Hundred. Kent Island was also represented.⁴

There does not seem to have been any inclination on the part of the people to delegate any one individual to act for them through a public election, but many of the freemen, not finding it convenient to attend, gave a *proxy* to some member to act for them, so that one person in fact represented a considerable number of freemen, and the result was the same as though all in whose name he acted had united to choose him their burgess.⁵ “During the sessions of this Assembly,” says Steiner,⁶ “sixty-four different persons were present and twenty-six more freemen are mentioned, who did not appear.” The sessions were presided over by Leonard Calvert, who is designated as “The Lieutenant General” or as “The President.” The name of Captain

² 1—*Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, p. 23.

³ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, pp. 10–11.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶ Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 76.

Thomas Cornwaleys usually appears in the records of the proceedings immediately after that of the President.

After the members had assembled on the first day, certain orders were established by general consent to be observed during the sessions of the Assembly. These orders were as follows:

Imprmis, the Lieutent Grall as President of the Assembly, shall appoint and direct all things that concerne forme and decency to be observed in the same; and shall command the observance thereof as he shall see cause upon paine of imprisonment or fine as the house shall adjudge.

Item every one that is to speak to any matter, shall stand up, and be uncovered and direct his speech to the Lieutenant Generall as President of the Assembly. And if two or more stand up to speake together, the Lieutent Grall shall appoint which shall speak.

Item no man shall stand up to speak to any matter until the partie that spake last before, have sate downe, nor shall any one speake above once to one bill or matter at one reading nor shall refute the speech of any other with any uncivil or contentious termes, nor shall name him but by some circumloquution. And if any one offend to the contrary, the Lieutenant Generall shall command him to silence.

Item the house shall sitt every day at eight of the clock in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone.

Item the freemen assembled at any time to any number above ten persons, at the houres aforesaid, or within one houre after, shalbe a house to all purposes.

Item every one propounding any matter to the house shall digest it first into writing and deliver it to the Secretary to be read unto the house

And it was ordered by the house that these Orders should be sett up in some publique place of the house, to the end all men might take notice of them.⁷

During the course of this session of the Assembly Cornwaleys appeared as proxy for various members holding the right to vote in their stead. On the first day, he held one; during the remainder of the sittings he held twelve others,

⁷ *I—Archives*, pp. 4-5.

besides two, which were offered to him on one occasion, but which, by a vote of the house, he was not allowed to accept.⁸

On the second day it was ordered that any member of the house who did not put in an appearance at the appointed time should be amerced twenty pounds of tobacco for every offense. Twelve of the first Acts of the draught of laws transmitted by the Proprietary were read and debated. In the afternoon session the debate continued.⁹ The Assembly then adjourned till January 29th.

The third day of the Assembly is worthy of particular attention. It was the first occasion on which we find Cornwaleys voicing his opinion. The question under discussion regarded the "Privilege of Parliament" which exempted the legislators from arrest during the Assembly and it was mooted whether freemen having made proxies during the Assembly could be apprehended before the dissolution of the same. Cornwaleys maintained that by delegating their vote to another, they deprived themselves of this right to exemption. Cornwaleys' object was to curtail the extent of official privilege. But the majority of the members held that no man who had a right to sit in the Assembly could be arrested until, after the close of its sessions, he had sufficient time to travel to his place of residence.¹⁰

Then the question arose whether the body of laws sent over by Cecilius Calvert for their acceptance, and which were read and discussed the day previous, should be read again, or at once put to the vote. The Captain was of the opinion "that they should expect a more frequent house," while Captain Fleete advocated reading them again; but the majority, including Calvert and Lewger, favored immediate action. However, when the question actually arose whether the laws should be accepted or rejected, it was found that Calvert and Lewger who controlled fourteen "voices" were on the affirmative side, while the remainder, holding thirty-seven votes, were on the negative.

Then the discussion arose as to what laws should govern

⁸ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁹ *I—Archives*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

the Province. Some held that certain temporary enactments should be made to hold until they heard again from England. Then the President emphatically denied any power to the house to originate any laws. Cornwaleys suggested the laws of England, to which the Governor replied, that his commission gave him power to act in civil cases by the laws of England, in criminal cases also "not extending to life or member." In the latter, he was limited to the laws of the Province which gave him no power to inflict punishment "on any enormous offenders." However, the suggestion was offered that since offenses calling for such punishment could hardly be committed without mutiny, the offenders could be punished by process of martial law. This suggestion seems to have settled the difficulty for the time as the discussion then ended.¹¹

During the afternoon session of the same day, January 29th, a proposition was laid before the House to consider laws to be sent to the Proprietary. Leonard Calvert advised that a committee should be selected to prepare a draft and report to the House when they were ready, the members in the interim to have time to attend to their private concerns. The proposal was favorably received and a committee of five was chosen out of a candidature of ten members. It is worthy of note as it gives evidence of the high esteem in which Captain Cornwaleys was held in the House, that he received fifty-four votes—the highest number cast for any of the successful candidates. Captain Evelin received forty-eight; Captain Wintour, forty-five; Governor Calvert, thirty-eight; and Mr. Justinian Snow, thirty-one.¹² The House then voted to adjourn, to meet again on the 8th of February. As the Court was to meet in the interval, the Privilege of Parliament was suspended so that there might be no obstruction to the course of justice.

When the Assembly reconvened, the committee reported that the laws prepared by the proprietor should be again propounded since there appeared to be a general misunderstanding among the freemen regarding their import. The

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

House agreed to the decision, first adopting an order that all bills brought up should be read three times on as many different days before being voted upon. Then the draft of laws was read through the second time as well as twenty bills proposed by the committee, which were read the first time. Cornwaleys then asked that it be put to vote whether these laws at the third reading should be voted upon singly or the whole body together. It was decided by a vote of thirty-seven to thirty-two in favor of voting upon them separately.¹³ This vote seems to have disposed of his Lordship's code, for no attempt appears to have been made to bring it to a third reading.¹⁴

In the afternoon, when the members had assembled, the President announced that he thought fit to adjourn the Assembly again, for a longer time, till the laws which they would propound to the Lord Proprietary were ready, which some of the members could take care of, while the others would have leisure to attend to their own concerns.

Cornwaleys immediately made answer that they could not spend their time in any business better than in that which concerned the good of the colony. Another member demanded to know the reason for the adjournment and declared that the members were willing to leave their various occupations to attend to public business. Governor Calvert then replied that he was accountable to no one for his resolution to adjourn the session.

Then Thomas Cornwaleys made a motion that at least a committee should be appointed to take charge of the preparation of the laws, till the House met again. To this, the body agreed and fixed upon a committee of three. Six candidates were proposed. The result of the choice of the members showed that Captain Cornwaleys received fifty-six votes; Governor Calvert, forty-six; and Captain Evelin, forty-four. After this action, the President adjourned the House till February 26th, after the privilege of parliament was again revoked.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Governor Calvert's decision to adjourn the Assembly on this occasion without assigning any reason seemed rather abrupt and ill-timed. But the Governor had excellent reasons that prompted him to take such action. The state of things in Kent Island at the time demanded his presence there to settle matters. He deemed it wise to keep his intention secret to assure the better success of his expedition, the account of which has been related in the preceding chapter.

In the absence of Leonard Calvert, the Assembly had been convened on schedule by Secretary Lewger, acting for the Governor. But it merely met to adjourn to meet again on March 5th. Owing to the Governor's being still absent, adjournment was ordered till the 12th of March. On that day, the President again occupied the chair. Cornwaleys was also at his post of duty as the faithful aid and counsellor of the Governor.

The main business of this session of the Assembly was rapidly pushed forward. Various measures were brought before the legislative body and passed. Among them might be mentioned in particular an act "for capitall felonies," from one part of which Cornwaleys dissented; the other, an act "for support of the Lord Proprietor" was passed but "denied by the Captain and three others."¹⁵

On March 24th, the last day of the civil year according to reckoning in use at the time, the members assembled. "The laws as they were faire ingrossed were read in the house." This procedure consumed the time of the morning and afternoon sessions. After the laws had been read they were signed by the Governor and the rest of the House. The Assembly came to a close with this meeting.¹⁶

The year 1638 proved, in many particulars, one of great trial for the Maryland colonists. Not the least of these was the prevalence of disease which raged in the Province around that time.¹⁷ During the course of the epidemic, the mis-

¹⁵ *I—Archives*, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁷ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

sionaries, of whom there were four, all of the Society of Jesus, worked indefatigably to bring to the stricken the consolations of religion. Among those who died during the scourge, were Jerome Hawley, the friend and fellow-Councillor of Cornwaleys, of whom we shall speak later; Father Knowles and Brother Gervase of the Society of Jesus.¹⁸

During this eventful year, Cornwaleys' ability and faithfulness to duty were eminently proven in the varied offices he was called upon to perform for the good of the Province. The confidence of the Proprietor in appointing him adviser to his brother was not misplaced. The reliance of the people on his integrity and business tact was manifested in his selection on numerous occasions for arbitrations and the settlement of estates. The estates administered by the Captain were those of John Saunders,¹⁹ Jerome Hawley²⁰ and Thomas Cullamore.²¹ The Governor's appreciation of Cornwaleys' military skill was evidenced by requiring his services in the expedition to Kent Island. The confidence of Calvert was shown in the Captain's administrative ability when he was appointed on May 27, 1638, Deputy Governor of the Province during Calvert's absence in Virginia.²² "As a legislator," says Streeter, "he had proved his firmness, and his single purpose to act only for the public good, in the course of the session (of the Assembly) which ended in March; and his impartiality and superiority to mere religious prejudices were admirably displayed in his investigations into the case of the Protestant servants of William Lewis, in July of the same year."²³

The result of the trial here referred to was this. Two Protestant servants of William Lewis were accused by him before Cornwaleys of having drawn up a paper to band the

¹⁸ Cf. Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. I, p. 109, *Documents*; Vol. I, p. 336, *Text*; Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. III, pp. 367-8; Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁹ IV—*Archives of Maryland, Court*, p. 14.

²⁰ The administration of Hawley's estate will be dealt with in the chapter on Hawley and Cornwaleys.

²¹ IV—*Archives*, pp. 39, 74 *et seq.*, and 102.

²² III—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 74.

²³ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

Protestants together for the purpose of petitioning Governor Harvey and the Council of Virginia, to send to St. Mary's, and demand the surrender of Lewis to be proceeded against as a traitor to England, on the charge of having spoken disrespectfully of the clergy of the Established Church, and that he had forbidden his servants to read the authorized publications of divines of the same Church. The Captain took up the affair at once and the subsequent proceedings of the case proved that the Protestants could get redress in Maryland without having recourse to any tribunal beyond her confines.

When Cornwaleys had heard this part of the story, he sent for Secretary Lewger, and called in Robert Sedgrave and Francis Gray, the parties principally compromised in Lewis' charge. Sedgrave admitted that he had a paper which he had prepared and given to Gray who, even then, had it with him. This was turned over to Captain Cornwaleys. The document was an appeal to persons not named, accusing Lewis of reproaches against the ministers of their religion, of forbidding his servants to read any book relative to their religion and of trying to win over ignorant persons by craft to the Catholic religion. They therefore besought those who had the power to stop these abuses on the part of Lewis. It was found that the object of the paper was to induce some of the freemen to petition the Governor and Council for redress of their grievances.

On Tuesday, July 3, 1638, the parties concerned with their witnesses, were summoned before Governor Calvert, Captain Cornwaleys and Secretary Lewger, sitting as a Court. Sedgrave admitted that he had drawn up the paper and given it to Gray. They were on their way to the chapel on the preceding Sunday when Cornwaleys called them and interrogated them on the matter. Gray admitted his intent of giving it to certain freemen for presentation to the Governor.

Examination of the witnesses proved that the two servants had been reading a book in which the Pope was termed anti-Christ, and the Jesuits, anti-Christian ministers. Lewis had come upon them whilst thus engaged. Irritated at these

harsh words, Lewis retorted that the accusations were false, that the Protestant clergymen were ministers of the devil, and that he would not have that book read in his house. Lewis offered to prove that the purpose of the paper was to combine the Protestants and to petition Harvey for aid, but, not being able to prove his contention since his witness was absent on a trading expedition, the Governor deferred the trial of Sedgrave and his associates on that charge till the witness could be produced in Court,²⁴ and thereupon called upon the Secretary to give his opinion in the case.

Lewger pronounced the accused guilty of an offensive and indiscreet speech in calling the author of the book in question a minister of satan; of very offensive speech in calling Protestant clergymen the ministers of the devil; and to have gone to excess in forbidding what was allowed to be read by the State of England, but he acquitted him of the accusation to have or use Protestant books in his house. Since these offensive speeches and his other unseasonable disputations on religious topics tended to the disturbance of the public peace and were in violation of a public proclamation put forth to prohibit such disputes, he sentenced Lewis to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco to the Proprietary, and to remain in the sheriff's custody until he found security for his good behaviour in these matters for the future. The Captain concurred substantially with this opinion and the Governor entirely. Thereupon the security was given.²⁵

The incident of the trial of William Lewis and its outcome is indeed very insignificant in itself, nevertheless it shows that liberty of conscience in the colony of Maryland was not a dead letter in the legislation of the Province. When the law was enacted forbidding religious disputes cannot be definitely stated. Browne is of the opinion that it was enacted in the First Assembly, the records of which, as stated before, have been lost.²⁶

²⁴ Whether the trial of Sedgrave and his associates ever took place cannot be stated as no record of it is to be found in the *Proceedings of the Provincial Court*.

²⁵ IV—*Archives*, pp. 35-9; Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 126-7.

²⁶ Cf. V—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, Preface, p. 1.

CHAPTER VII

CORNWALEYS AND THE JESUITS

Shortly after the dissolution of the Second Assembly, three letters were sent to Cecilius Calvert. The first of these is from Father Thomas Copley, and is dated April 3, 1638; the second is from Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, and is dated April 6; and the third from Governor Leonard Calvert, dated April 25.¹ These letters probably reached the Lord Proprietary at the same time that the revised code of laws sent over after the sessions of the Assembly. The *Archives of Maryland* give only the titles of the laws passed at the Second Assembly. However, from these letters, much information is to be had of the content of the code.

In the letters of the missionary, the Captain and the Governor, different opinions are expressed on the code, in accordance with the views the different parties concerned, took of the same. Calvert writes: "The body of lawes you sent over by Mr. Lewger I endeavored to have had passed by the assembly at Maryland but could not effect it, there was so many things unsuteable to the peoples good and no way conducing to your proffitt that being they could not be exempted from others which they willingly would have passed they were desireous to suspend them all, the particlar exceptions which were made against them Mr. Lewger hath given you an account of in his dispatches to you: others have been passed in the same assembly and now sent unto you which I am perswaded will appear unto you to provide both for your honor and proffitt as much as those you sent us did."²

Father Copley's sentiments are couched in the following language: "Touching the lawes which your lordshipe sent, I am told that they would not be excepted and, even the Governor, and Mr. Lugar said once to me, that they were not fitt for this Colonye. for myne owne parte, seeing noe

¹ The letters referred to are to be found in *The Calvert Papers*, No. 1, following each other in order on pp. 157, 169 and 182 respectively.

² *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 189-190.

service that I could doe your lordshipe therein and many inconvenices that I might runne into by intermedlinge, I never soe much as rede them nether doe I yet know what they contained; for the temporall providence I left my selfe to your lordshipe and for matter of conscience, I supposed that your lordshipe had taken good advise what occasion then could I have to intermeddle about them? The lawes which now are sent to your lordshipe I never knew nor saw till even now, that they weare ready to be sent to your lordshipe. And there being hast to send them, I only goot a hasty vew of them. Yet diverse things even in that hasty reeding occured to me, which I conceived requisite to acquanite you with all, leaving them to your lordships more serious consideration." ³

Cornwaley's letter also voices criticism of both codes. He writes: "Nor were it difficult out of the Lawes sent over by your Lordship, or these that are from hence proposed toe you, toe finde Just grounds for toe feare the Introdusement of Lawes prejuditiall toe oure honors and freedome witnes that on[e] Act whereby wee are exposde to A remediles Suffering of all Disgraces and Insolensyes that eyther the Pastion or Mallis [passion or malice] of Suckseedeing Governors shall please toe put upon us, with out beeing permitted soe much as A Lawfull defence for the secureing of Life or reputation though never soe unjustly Attempted toe be taken from us, with out forfeyteing the same and all wee have to boote. This and many other Absurdetyes I doubt not but your Lordship will finde and Correct upon the peruseall of oure learned Lawes." ⁴

The body of laws sent over to Lord Baltimore after the Second Assembly were subjected to criticism by a clergyman and a layman. In the case of the layman, Captain Cornwaleys, the objection to the code received all the more weight since it emanated from such an important personage as one of the Governor's Councillors. The laws were criticised

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-9. It is to be noted that the missionaries were excused from attending sessions of the Assembly, cf. *I—Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, p. 5.

⁴ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 173.

under a double aspect as touching lay affairs as well as spiritual.⁵

As has been stated above, much of the content of this code submitted by the Second Assembly must be gleaned from these letters. The titles of the various acts as recorded in the minutes of this Assembly help us to identify the separate topics spoken of in the letters, and give us a clearer understanding of the laws in question.

Father Hughes has summed up the code in the briefest possible way. He tells us that "of the two score laws and more, eight are about manors. They regulate the assigning of manors, the peopling and supporting of them; and, strange to say, they contain a prohibition to alienate or part with a manor. There is a law that a glebe shall be settled, or, as we learn from Father Copley, that every manor shall provide one hundred acres for the support of a pastor. There are laws about building a town, erecting a fort, planting corn, and about securing the titles to lands. There are military duties and services laid to the charge of manors and freeholds: as well as an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign . . . There are laws about the descent of land, the succession to the goods of intestates, and the probate of wills. Besides, there are criminal laws regarding capital offenses; the privilege of clergy for some capital crimes; the arbitrary punishment of enormous offenses; and a bill for the support of the Lord Proprietary." ⁶

From the letters referred to we will be able to get a better understanding of the laws in themselves as well as to form an estimate of the light in which they were regarded by the writers of the same.

Father Copley intimates to the Lord Proprietor that "some here reflecting on what they have done say plainly that if they canne not live here, they canne live else where, and therfor that they care not much." He then states that others have been complaining that the Governor and Mr.

⁵ Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. 1, Text, p. 390.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-1.

Luger "and there instruments" had secured so many proxies that they did just as they pleased without restraint. Again others questioned the validity of the laws saying that they could prove that the laws were never read thrice in the same tenor. The missionary then asks if the mere apprehension of future consequences affrights them, what will the consequences themselves do. He is of the opinion that even in the most flourishing countries Lords of manors would find laws of that stamp as he refers to in his letter burdensome.⁷

Captain Cornwaleys tells the Proprietor that he desires to see him "at peace with the first Adventurers, whoe are I perceave noe whit satisfyed with theyre Last Conditions for the Trade. Theyre harts haveing not seconded theyre hands in the agreement, but some for love some for feare some by Importunety and the rest for Company consented toe what they now repine toe stand toe, nor can I blame them for tis impossible they can be savers by it. Which made mee refuse to beare them Company, and therefore am I now the only Supposed Enemy toe your Lordships Proffitt, which I disclayme from unless there bee an Antipathy betwixt that and my Subcistance on this Place." ⁸

Father White, in a letter dated February 20, 1638, speaks of a class of individuals whom he terms "relinquishers," "men who understand little of truck or trade" who were willing to sign away anything by a concordat.⁹ This concordat, in the opinion of Father Hughes, "seems to have been a subsidiary manoeuvre for handing over all rights of trade to his lordship." ¹⁰

The Captain writes of the difficult conditions of trade and of the unprofitableness of raising tobacco in the following words: "I was this yeere determined toe have waighted upon your Lordship in England, and on[e] way or other toe have concluded this fateall difference about the Trade. for my Lord I may properly use the words of the Ghospell, I

⁷ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 160-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹⁰ Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

cannot Digg and to Begg I am Ashamed, if therefor your Lordship nor your Country will afford me noe other way toe support the great Expenses that I have beene and dayly am at for my Subcistans heere, but what I must fetch out of the Grounde by Planting this Stincking weede of America, I must desert the Place and busynes, which I confes I shall bee loth toe doe, soe Cordiall A lover am I of them both, yet if I am forst toe it by discourteous Injuries I shall not weepe at parting nor despayre toe find heaven as neere toe other parts as Maryland. But I will first doe my Endeavor toe Compose things soe as non shall say heereafter that I lost A right I bought soe deere through negligens or Ignorans. Other mens Imaginations are noe infallible presidents toe mee, nor will the multitude of names nor Seales, move mee toe bee a foole for Company, for what in them was only Inadvertens, non would tearm less then follery in mee, whoe might or ought toe know by experiens, that it is impossible toe Comply with the Conditions mentioned in the Lease and bee a Saver by them." ¹¹

Having considered the objections of the missionary and the Captain with regard to trade, we now turn to examine the complaints of the former to certain laws passed by the late Assembly.

"First" says Father Copley, "there is not any care at all taken, to promote the conversion of the Indians. to provide or to shew any favor to Ecclesiastical persons, or to preserve for the church the Immunitie and priveledges, which she enjoyeth every where else." ¹² Mr. Lewger is accused of defending the opinion that the Church has no privileges by divine right. The Secretary, together with others that adhere to him, seem to be resolved to bind the clergy to all laws and to make the same exactions of them as they do of other men. This official has even demanded of Father Copley, before the confirmation of the law, fifteen hundred weight of tobacco towards the building of a fort, "Whereas" writes the priest, "I dare boldly say that the whole Colony together never bestowed on me the worth of five hundred weight one would

¹¹ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 176.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

thinke that even out of Gratitude, they might free us from such kinde of taxation especially seing, we put noe taxe upon them, but healpe them gratis, and healpe them also in such a manner, that I am sure they canne not complaine." ¹³

"Secondly by the new lawe we should relinquish what we have, and then cast lotts in what place we shall choose, and if our lott proove ill, what we have already may be chosen from us and soe we may beginne the world anew, and then ether we must loose all our buildinge, all our cleering, all our enclosures, and all our tennants, or else be forced to sitt freeholders, and to pay for every hundred acres one barrell of corne whereas we are not yet in a little care to gitt bread." ¹⁴ The result of this procedure would be that though the missionaries should choose "Metapanian" first, they would lose Mr. Gerard's manor despite the fact that they bought it at great expense. Furthermore, should this be permitted, then the Assembly can so alter their rights that no man would be sure what really was his. Besides he who could secure the most proxies could dispose of the property of others as he deemed fit. ¹⁵

The next point raised by Father Copley regards military service under the provisions of which they must be trained as soldiers and provide munitions. They must have in every manor fifteen men available for service whom, during the time of service, they must maintain. "Other things we should be subjecte to by these lawes, which would be very unfitt for us."

Under the law it is expected that every "head" plant two acres of corn. The fathers have not sufficient men to employ in planting. If they wish to comply with this law they must either turn planters themselves or else "trench" upon the statute. Under the new regime, they would not only lose their trade in beaver and corn but in the case of the latter they must ask leave to buy the corn necessary for the making of bread. And should those who have a monopoly in this

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

commodity or be otherwise indisposed they would be put to the embarassment of being "at the courtesy of other men."¹⁶

With regard to the missionaries receiving lands from converted Indians, Father Copley states that, though he is resolved not to take up land except under his Lordship's title, yet the time might come when, such an offer being made toward building a house or church for the fathers, no small inconvenience might arise. With regard to this possible event, he inquires "whether any one that should goe aboute to restraine ecclesiasticall libertys in this point encurre not the excommunications of Bulla Coenae."

Under the new statutes, in every manor one hundred acres must be laid out for glebe land. Should the intention of this law be to bind them who enjoy it to be pastors, then the fathers must either become pastors themselves or in their own manor maintain pastors, both of which arrangements would be very inconvenient.

The next portion of Father Copley's letter, we prefer to give entirely in his own words. It runs as follows: "That it may be prevented that noe woman here vow chastety in the world, unless she marry within seven yeers after land fall to hir, she must ether dispose away of hir land, or else she shall forfeite it to the nexte of kinne and if she have but one Mannor, whereas she canne not alienaite it, it is gonne unlesse she git a husband. To what purpose this ole law is maid your lordshipe perhaps will see better than I for my parte I see greate difficultyes in it, but to what purpose I well see not."¹⁷

In the order set down for the payment of debts, the Proprietary is cautioned to ponder it well. Though Father Copley confesses he has not examined it very carefully he doubts not that "it runneth not right with that which is ordinarily prescribed by Casuits as just."

"In the thirty-fourth law amonge the Enormous Crime One is Exercisinge jurisdiction and authoritye, without lawfull power and commission dirived from the lord pro-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 165.

prietarye." Hereby, according to the missionary, even by Catholics a law is provided to hang any Catholic bishop that should come to Maryland as well as any priest, if the exercise of his functions be interpreted as jurisdiction or authority.¹⁸

Father Copley then cautions Lord Baltimore that before he does anything in the matter of these laws, he ponder well the *Bulla Coenae*; secondly, that in things concerning the Church, he should take good advice from church authorities and finally, that he be careful not to "trench upon the church and where any thinge may seem to trench, to use fitt prevention against the bad consequence."¹⁹

Thomas Cornwaleys also writes a word of warning. He says: "I beseeche your Lordship for his Sake whose honor you and wee doe heere pretend, and whoe at Last must Judg with what Sincerety wee have discharged it, That you from whose Consent they must receive the bindeing fors of Lawes, will not permit the least Clawes toe pas that shall not first bee thoroughly Scand and resolved by wise Laerned and Religious Divines toe bee noe waise prejudiciall toe the Immunettyes and Priveledges of that Church which is the only true Guide toe all Eternall Happines, of which wee shall shew oureselves the most ungratefull members that ever shee nourished, if in requiteall of those many favors and Blessings that shee and her devoute Servants have obtayned for us, wee attempt toe deprive her of them, with out paying such A Price as hee that Buyes it will repent his Bargayne. What are her Greevances, and how toe bee remedyed, you will I doubt not understand at Large from those whoe are more knowing in her rights and Consequently more sensyble of her Injuries then such an Ignorant Creature as I am. Wherefore now all that belongs toe mee, is only toe importune your Lordship in whose powre t'is yet toe mend what we have done Amis, toe bee most Carefull in preserveing his Honor whoe must Preserve both you and Maryland. Perhaps this fault hath beene permitted in us as a favoure toe your Lord-

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Father Copley's fears as to Lord Baltimore's usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction are unfounded as no attempt was made by either himself or the Assembly to control the jurisdiction of the clergy.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

ship whereby you may declare the Sincerety of your first pyouse pretence for the Planting of this Province, which will bee toe much doubted of if you should take Advantage of oure Ignorant and uncontionable proceedeings toe Assume more than wee can Justly give you. And for A Little Imaginary Honor, throw your self us and your Country out of that protection which hath hithertoe preserved and Prospered that and us beyound Humaine Expectation; which noe doubt will bee continued if wee Continue as we ought, toe bee, I never yet heard of any that Lost by beeing bountyfull toe God or his Church, then let not your Lordship heare toe bee the first. Give untoe God what doth belong toe him, and doubt not but Cesar shall receive his due. If your Lordship thinks mee toe teadious in A discourse not proper toe the Part that I doe Act, my Interest in the whole Action must excuse mee, Sylence would perhaps make mee Supposed Accessary toe these dangerous Positions, which is soe far from my Intention, that as I now declare toe youre Lordship and shall not feare toe doe the like toe all the world if it bee necessary, I will rather Sacrifice myself and all I have in the defence of Gods Honor and his churches right, then willingly Consent toe anything that may not stand with the Good Contiens of A Real Catholick. Which resolution if your Lordship doe not allsoe make good by A Religious Care of what you send over Authorised by your Consent, I shall with as much Convenient speede as I can with draw myself, and what is Left of that which I brought with mee, out of the Danger of beeing involved in the ruein which I shall infallibly expect. Your Lordship knowes my security of Contiens was the first Condition that I expected from this Government, which then you thought soe Inocent as you Conceaved the Proposition altogether impertinent, But now I hope you will perceave the Contrary.”²⁰

From this appeal of Captain Cornwaleys to the Proprietor, we learn that he was very solicitous about the laws passed by the last Assembly. In the last chapter several instances

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-3.

were recorded where he objected to certain enactments. Since the minutes of that Assembly have not come down to us we are unable to know just what opposition he raised to the legislation of the Assembly. On March 16, there were many of the laws passed which met with no opposition and the Captain was present at the session.²¹ Again on the last day of the Second Assembly, it is recorded that the Governor signed the laws as well as the rest of the House, Cornwaleys being present on that occasion as well. But the dissatisfaction, as has been seen, was by no means confined to Cornwaleys. Father Copley has told us, as before stated, that many complained about the proxies of Calvert and Lewger and of the manner in which the laws varied at each reading. We are led to believe that the Captain, realizing this state of affairs, was content to leave the matter as it then stood, resolving to write a letter to the Proprietary voicing his condemnation of the laws to which he objected and trusting to Lord Baltimore's good judgment and honesty in the case for redress. That the Captain was not always of one mind with Governor Calvert is also evident from the words of a letter written by Leonard Calvert to his brother. He says that "it hath been his fortune and myne to have had some differences formerly yet in many things I have had his faithfull assistance for your service and in nothing more then in the expedicion to Kent this last winter."²² These differences of which Calvert speaks may have been with regard to the laws.

After Father Copley had addressed his warning to the Lord Proprietor, he asked for certain privileges to be granted to him by a private order as long as the government remained Catholic. They are as follows: "The first that the church and our houses may be Sanctuarie. The second that our selves and our domestique servants, and halfe at least of our planting servants, may be free from publique taxes and services, And the rest of our servants and our tennants,

²¹ *I—Archives*, p. 20.

²² Letter of Leonard Calvert to the Proprietary, dated April 25, 1638, *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 190.

though exteriorly the doe as others in the Colony, Yet that in the manner of exacting or doing it, privatly the custome of other catholiques countrye may be observed as much as may be that catholiques out of bad practice cumme not to forgit those due respects which they owe to god and his church.²³ The third is that though in publique we suffer our cause to be heard and tryed by the publique magestrats, yet that in private they know, that they doe it but as arbitrators and defenders of the church because Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction is not yet here settled. The fourth. That in our owne persons and with such as are needfull to assiste us, we may freely goe, abide and live amonge the Savages, with out any licence to be had here from the Governor, or any other. lastly. that though we relinquish the use of many ecclesiasticall priviledge when we judge it convenient for satisfaction of the state at home, yet that it be left to our discretion to determine when this is requisite; and that we be suffered to enjoy such other priviledges as we may with out note.²⁴ And touching our temporaltyes. first I beseech your lordshipe that we may take up and keepe soe much lande, as in my former letters I acquainted your lordshipe to be requisite for our present occasions, according to the first conditions which we maid with your lordshipe . . . In the trade I shall requeste that your lordshipe performe soe much, as that we may employ one bote whensoever we shall not otherwyse use it . . . I desire lykwyse from your lordshipe a free Grante to buy corn of the Indians without asking leave here, for endedd It will be a greate pressure to eate our bread at there curtesye, who as yet I have found but very little curtous.”²⁵ At the beginning of Father Copley’s letter, Lord Baltimore wrote “heerein are demands of very extravagant priviledges.”

Whatever opinion one may form as to the justice of the claim of the missionaries, or of the rights of Lord Baltimore, two considerations must not be lost sight of. In the first

²³ Lord Baltimore here notes in his own handwriting on the margin of the letter: “All their tenants as well as servants he intimates heere ought to be exempted from the temporall government.” *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 166.

²⁴ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 166–7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 166–8.

place, the generous, self-sacrificing conduct of the Jesuit missionaries, precludes the conclusion that the Fathers were actuated by mere mercenary motives. Their one object was to enable them more effectively to further their Apostolic work in extending the kingdom of Christ. Davis, an Episcopalian, writing of them, says: "Their pathway was through the desert; and their first chapel, the wigwam of an Indian. Two of them were here, at the dawn of our history: they came to St. Mary's with the original emigrants; they assisted, by pious rites, in laying the corner-stone of a State; they kindled the torch of civilization in the wilderness; they gave consolation to the grief-stricken pilgrim; they taught the religion of Christ to the simple sons of the forest. The history of Maryland presents no better, no purer, no more sublime lesson than the story of the toils, sacrifices, and successes of her early missionaries."²⁶

"The impartial observer of events will, in the second place," says Russell, "remember that Lord Baltimore was a Catholic whose sincerity cannot be questioned. Had he, like his grandson, renounced his faith, most, if not all, the difficulties and dangers which menaced his colony would have disappeared, and his success in every worldly way would have been assured. He held fast to his Church at the cost of enormous sacrifices, and such sacrifices are proof sufficient of the genuineness of his belief."²⁷

We have stated in the beginning of this chapter that these letters touched spiritual matters and lay or temporal affairs. What the fate of the code was will be seen in a subsequent chapter. We can therefore touch briefly upon the relations of Lord Baltimore and the missionaries. This matter forms a part of the biography of Thomas Cornwaleys in so far as he was on the side of the fathers as is abundantly proven by his letter. It must be remembered that no matter what differences may have arisen between the Proprietary and the Jesuits, this in no wise weakened his

²⁶ Davis, *The Day-Star of American Freedom*, pp. 159-60.

²⁷ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 151.

faith in the Church for which he was ever prepared to make heroic sacrifices.²⁸

Under date of April 4, 1634, shortly after the arrival of the colonists in Maryland, a decree of Propaganda states, to use the words of Father Hughes, "that, at the instance of the 'English clergy,' whomsoever that term may designate, the Sacred Congregation judged the proposal of sending a mission to Maryland, in the premises, as a measure highly opportune; and it ordered 'the agent of the same clergy' to name a prefect and missionaries, or to have them named by the French Nuncio, who in all cases was to report on the fitness of the men designated."²⁹ For some years nothing seems to have been done in the matter. However, in 1641, in accordance with the wishes of Lord Baltimore, Mgr. Rosetti, Nuncio in Belgium, was instructed by Propaganda to send "information about the said island (Maryland), the Catholics there, secular priests in England fitted for the mission, and especially one more prominent and learned, who might be appointed prefect."³⁰

Monsignor Rosetti, afterwards Archbishop of Tarsus, after a visit to England in 1641, sent his report to the Sacred Congregation, together with the names of fourteen priests who were deemed fit to be sent to the mission field of Maryland. The first name on the list is that of Rev. Dr. Britton, who might be made Prefect.³¹ After faculties had been dispatched for the new missionaries to Father Philips, the Queen's confessor, a memorial on behalf of the Jesuits was addressed to the Holy Office complaining against the attitude of Lord Baltimore and protesting against the sending of the Secular clergy to Maryland.³²

In February, 1642, having received the Memorial, the Congregation of the Holy Office ordered the faculties of the Secular clergy suspended and the mission put off "until such time as this Sacred Congregation shall have examined some

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²⁹ Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Hughes quoting Propaganda Archives, p. 495.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 493-8.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 506-15; also Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-3.

points, and determined that which is best to do for the greater service of God ever blessed, and for the propagation of the holy faith."³³ In the meantime the clergy appointed to go to the colony were impatiently awaiting their faculties. Not knowing entirely the causes of the delay, they were minded to proceed at first in virtue of their ordinary faculties for the royal dominions of Great Britain. However, Rosetti dissuaded them from proceeding in this manner.³⁴ Meanwhile Lord Baltimore, finding his purpose of sending Secular missionaries thwarted, decided that the Jesuits also should not go, while at the same time, Leonard Calvert endeavored to prevent the missionaries actually in the colony from leaving.³⁵ A deadlock resulted. To overcome the difficulty the General of the Jesuits wrote to Father Edward Knott, the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England on November 22, 1642: "I myself will see that faculties are asked for them from the (Cardinal) Protector, to buy off vexation. If they are obtained I will let your Reverence know."³⁶

Whether this arrangement of the General was agreeable or whether the suspended faculties were granted to the Secular Fathers, we cannot say. However, two Secular priests, Fathers Gilmett and Territt, set sail sometime about November, 1642, on different vessels.³⁷ The Proprietary, in a letter dated November 21, 1642, commends the Fathers to the Governor's care; in another letter written from Bristol, on November 18, 1643,³⁸ further instructions are given to look after the welfare of these priests.³⁹

In writing of Father Copley's relations with Lord Baltimore, Russell considers the characters of this missionary and Secretary Lewger. He says: "Copley and Lewger were men of strong individuality, powerful will and extraordinary tenacity of purpose, and their clash of temperaments probably resulted from the manifest similarity of their

³³ Hughes, *op. cit.*, citing Vatican Archives, p. 520.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

³⁵ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

³⁶ Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

³⁷ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 212.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ III—*Archives of Maryland*, Council, p. 143.

natures.”⁴⁰ Again he says: “A meeting of these two indomitable natures could hardly make for ‘peace and good will,’ yet we cannot doubt of their sincerity and self-sacrificing zeal.”⁴¹

Regarding the champions of either side, whether of the Proprietary or the Jesuits, much can be said. The missionaries asked at most, special privileges, but we cannot say that they begrudged freedom of conscience to other religionists. Moreover the privileges they asked for, were such as the clergy enjoyed in Catholic England under Magna Charta until the time of the Protestant separation. “The world at large,” says the author of *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, “had hardly at that time conceived an idea of such a state of affairs as obtains now in the United States. We, today, are accustomed to the present relations of Church and State; we can see its practicability, and we can appreciate its advantages. It was then an untried novelty in civil government. To most people there appeared no middle way between favoring one church or another. The devoted, self-sacrificing priests, zealous for the salvation of souls, . . . shut out from the rest of the world, were quite naturally in no position to take such a view of the situation as presented itself to Lord Baltimore. It was clear to him as to many other far-seeing statesmen that the time was come when the religious and political conditions of the world demanded religious freedom. In this respect, he and the other colonists who upheld his policy were far in advance of their times.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.

CHAPTER VIII

JEROME HAWLEY AND THOMAS CORNWALEYS

Among the first colonists who arrived in Maryland, was the fellow Commissioner of Thomas Cornwaleys, Jerome Hawley, a friend of the Captain. Hawley was a man of education and refinement. In appointing him as one of the Commissioners, Lord Baltimore proved that he placed confidence in his talents and good judgment. "He embarked with the Governor," says Streeter, "participated in the dangers and trials of the voyage, aided in the first reconnaissance of the country on the Potomac, and was one of those who, with appropriate civil and religious ceremonies, united in taking possession of the ground selected as the site of the first settlement, and christening it by the name of St. Mary's." ¹

Hawley became treasurer of Virginia early in 1637.² While performing the duties incumbent on him in virtue of this office, he continued to act as Commissioner and Counselor of Maryland. In the administration of his duties in Virginia, Hawley drew upon himself the criticism of Secretary Kemp, who wrote a letter of complaint against him to the Proprietary of Maryland. Governor Calvert also wrote to his brother relative to the same matter. Cornwaleys was cognizant of the disfavor into which Hawley had fallen and wrote a defense of his friend to Cecilius Calvert.

Kemp wrote on April 25, 1638, to acquaint Lord Baltimore of how matters stood upon the arrival of Hawley in Virginia as Treasurer. He states that such was the general dislike of the inhabitants of Virginia against Hawley that they would have removed him from office by an act of Assembly had not the Governor and Counsel curbed their proceedings. When Hawley assumed his office, he gave them no further account of the extent of his powers than those expressed in his commission. He alleges that he enjoyed the same powers

¹ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 109.

² Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 16 (note).

which former Treasurers had, and these were expressly vested in him for receiving quit rents. After the Assembly, the new Treasurer produced his "Instructions" wherein fines and all other perquisites to the King were expressly "within the Lymitts of his commission, as allso all Grants of Land were first to passe his appbation, [approbation], and allowance and upon what tearmes they were to passe was left to his discretion." "In which particulars," Kemp remarked, "the Governor and Counsell had just cause to doubt what his Intendments were."³

The Secretary furthermore complained that the Governor's main subsistence was taken away. All Governors would therefore be obliged to demand means from the people since the pension of the King would suffice to maintain that official in a manner proper to his dignity. With regard to grants of land, he says that the terms have always been certain as given by the "Antient Charter" and have been successively confirmed to the Governor and Council. The sudden change, consequently is a cause of distraction to the people as well as a source of discouragement to those "who serve his matie here in the places of Governor and Counsell."⁴

Kemp then lays before Lord Baltimore some of his own grievances. "The Office and benefit of the Invoices" which formerly belong to the Secretary now pertain to the Treasurer. He then states that he is informed that Hawley's purposes are to gain the profits of the "Pattents," and to have the keeping of the seals. What fees are left to the Secretary will accordingly not clothe and pay one clerk yearly. He then voices his grievance that though his labor is doubled, he does not receive the same allowance as former Secretaries.⁵

The question logically arises as to the reasons why Secretary Kemp addressed this complaint to Lord Baltimore. The reason is found in the conclusion of his letter. "Why I have taken the boldness to trouble yor Lorpp wth this

³ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Relation, without the Least Intimation heerein to any other, with favor I am thus induced. Because I receive from undoubted Information that the effect of Mr. Hawlye his business proceeded from yor Lorpps favour in his behalf. I am from my owne assurance as confident that yor Lorpps intents had noe aime eyther of publiq greivance, or lessening those whose service you may please in any tryall to command. All wch therefore I humbly tender to yor Lorpps consideration.”⁶

Writing to his brother, on April 25, 1638, Governor Leonard Calvert makes certain accusations against Jerome Hawley. “I am informed,” he says, “tht upon occasion of discourse given before Sr Jhon Harvey Mr. Jemp and Mr. Hawley by Mr. Boteler whether Palmers Ile were within the Province of Maryland or no Mr. Hawley did so weakly defend your title to it that Boteler grew more confident of proceeding in planting it for his Brother Cleyborne and I have some reason to thinck that Mr. Hawley did willingly let your title fall for some designe sake of his owne upon trade wth the Sasquahannoughs wch he might conceive better hopes to advance by its depenice on Virginia then on Maryland.”⁷

The Governor then goes on to say that when he held a Council meeting at St. Mary’s concerning the expedition to Kent Island with the purpose of putting a stop to the planting of the Island by Boteler and Smith, Hawley “earnestly diswaded it” by bringing up every reason in his power to make Lord Baltimore’s title doubtful and to show that it would be unlawful to hinder these men from planting there. Hawley did all this despite the fact that the argument was brought forth that their being there would be most dangerous to the Marylanders since Boteler and Smith would incite the Indians against them and might even furnish the savages with weapons against them. If the expedition were given up, all hope of a treaty with the Indians would be set at naught.

The letter then proceeds as follows: “I beleeve the faire promises wch he made you in England when you procured

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 187–8.

the prefermt he hath in Virginia how usefull he would prove to your Colony by it, will never be performed by him for nothing moveth him but his owne ends and those he intendeth wholly to remove from Maryland and place them in Virginia, and intendeth shortly to remove his wife and family thither, I am sorry it was your ill fortune to be a meanes of so much good to him who is to ingrateful for it.”⁸

Calvert then informs his brother that Hawley disclaims that he ever sought the aid of Lord Baltimore or that he ever had any designs of procuring the Proprietary’s influence toward securing this position for him. This information, the Governor tells Cecilius Calvert, was communicated to him by Cornwaleys.⁹

Captain Cornwaleys was fully aware of the disfavor into which his friend had fallen with Governor Calvert. That the Captain did not believe all the accusation against Mr. Hawley is apparent from his letter written on April 6, 1638.¹⁰ In it he utters a strong defence on behalf of his fellow Councillor, as follows:

“Newes I know yr Lop looks for non but what concernes the Commonwealth of Maryland in wch what I am defective I doubt not but yr Secretary will Supply whoe is as quick as I am Slow in writeing, and therefore in that part A verry fit Subject for the place hee bears, And if hee proves not tooe Stiff A maintayner of his owne opinions, and Somewhat tooe forward in Sugiesting new businesses for his owne imployment, hee may perhaps doe God and yr Lop good Service heere I should be Sorry toe Change Mr. Hawley for him whoe I perceave stands not soe perfect in yr Lops favoure as I could wish him wch perhaps some takeing Advantage at, and willing for toe fish in trobled waters, may by discourteous proceeदेings towards him make him weary of unprofitable Maryland, And fors him toe A Change more for his peace and Profit. As Doubtles virginia would bee toe him if he

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹⁰ This letter of Thomas Cornwaleys is the same one quoted extensively in the preceding chapter. Owing to the diversity of the topics, it was deemed best not to consider the document in any one chapter, but rather to use the information as demanded by the various events described in different chapters.

make good what hee hath undertaken, of wch I see no other Likelihood if hee have not left his worst Enemies behinde him, Among wch number I am Sorry toe see such probabilitie of yr Lops beeing on as I perceave there is. What reasons you have for it is unknowne toe mee, nor doe I presume toe Judg where the fault is, All that I wish as A Poore friende of his, is that yr Lop rightly understood him for from thens I verrely beleve doth flow those Jealosyes that I preceave are risen betwixt you, wch beeing increast by misapprehensions of Contentious Spirits must certaynely if not in time prevented by some Charitable reconsiliation breake forth with such vyolens as will endanger the noe little prejudice of on or both of you. I Assure yr Lop did I know any Just Cause toe Suspect his Sincerety toe Maryland, or the designe wee came upon, I should not bee soe Confydent of his Innosence in deserving toe ill from you or this Place. I cannot my Lord Suppose A little verball vehemensy uttered in the defens of A mans owne Supposed right, Suffittient toe Conclude him guilty of looseing all former respects toe greater obligations, wch if it bee soe greate A Crime I am toe seeke where I should finde on that would bee free when he Supposeth his right unjustly questioned. I must confes I cannot pleade not guilty, and yet I doubt not but my greatest Enemies doe really beleve mee for toe bee as I am A most unfayned friende toe Maryland. And soe I am confident will Mr. Hawley Apeere if you will give him time and ocaion for toe manifest it, and not by vyolent discourtesyes upon uncertain suppositions fors him toe Change his good intentions yr Lop knowes how many difficultyes hee past in England, nor hath hee beene exempt from the like in these parts, and therefore hee is not too bee blamed for laying howld of some probable way toe repayre his many misfortunes, there beeing noe Antipothy betwixt that and the continueing of his respects untoe yr. Lop. Well may the dischargeing of the office hee hath undertaken invite him sometimes toe Looke towards Virginia, but certaynely not with prejudice toe Maryland, from whens hee receaves the greatest Comforts that the

World affords him both for Sowle and body the on from the Church the other from his wife. whoe by her comportment in these difficult affayrs of her husbands, hath manifested as much virtue and discrestion as can bee expected from the Sex she owes, whose Industrious huswifery hath soe Adorned this Desert, that should his discouragements fors him toe withdraw himself and her, it would not A Little Eclips the Glory of Maryland." ¹¹

Jerome Hawley also expresses a word in self-defence in a letter written from Virginia on May 8, 1638, to Sir Francis Windebanke. At the close of his letter he writes: "Since my coming to the place of Treasurer, I have decerned some underhand oppositions made against me, but littell hath appeared in publick, therefore I can not particularly laye it to any man's charge. And because I finde that it chiefly aims at the hindering me in making any benefitte of my place (whereof I assure your Honour I have not yet made the value of five pound towards my charges) I doe therefore make it my humble sute unto your Honour that you wilbe pleased to move the King in my behalfe and procure His Majesties warrant for my fees, to the effect of this I send enclosed, which being added to your former favours, will much encrease my obligations to your Honour." ¹²

From the letters of Kemp and Calvert on the one hand, and of Cornwaleys and Hawley on the other, we realize that there are two sides to the question as in every discussion. To us, it seems that the arguments redounded to Hawley's favour. Whether he was vindicated, we cannot tell. Streeter, in the brief biography of Hawley contained in his *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, writes in reference to Hawley's letter to Windebanke: "Within this despatch in the State Paper Office, was enclosed the form of a warrant from the king, granting to Jerome Hawley, Treasurer of Virginia, power to appoint deputies for viewing tobacco, and to receive as his lawful fee, one pound of tobacco for every hundred weight of the same, viewed by him or his deputies,

¹¹ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, pp. 179-81.

¹² Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

but whether this was a form transmitted by the petitioner or a warrant drawn by authority of the king, in compliance with his petition, we cannot say." ¹³

Whatever may have been the result of Cornwaleys' appeal in his friend's behalf or of the petition addressed to Sir Francis Windebank, Jerome Hawley was soon to be beyond the harm of vituperation where the good or evil report of men matters naught. In a previous chapter, we have alluded to the sickness that prevailed during the year 1638. The fellow Councillor and friend of Cornwaleys died early in August of that year, probably a victim to the disease.¹⁴

Among the *Annual Letters* of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, in the one for that year regarding the Mission of Maryland, we read of the death of a man who was the beneficiary of the ministrations of the Fathers, and whom Father Hughes believes to have been Jerome Hawley.¹⁵ The account reads: "Several of the chief men have, through the use of the Spiritual Exercises, been formed by us to piety; a fruit by no means to be despised. In one especial case we adore the wonderful providence and mercy of God, which brought a man encompassed in the world with many difficulties, and obliged to live in Virginia constantly deprived of all spiritual aid, to promise, not long before his death, that he would undertake these Exercises. This intention was prevented by a severe sickness which he bore with the greatest patience, fixing his mind firmly on God; and at length, having duly received all the sacraments, in a state of most unusual peace he gave back his soul to God, which had been so full of troubles and disquietudes." ¹⁶

In Hawley's will, made at the time of leaving England with the first colonists, he had appointed residents of the mother country as his executors. Thomas Cornwaleys was, however, appointed administrator of his estate for reasons

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁵ Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. I, Text, p. 337.

¹⁶ Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. III, p. 371. This work contains the English version of the letter quoted. The Latin version is to be found in Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. I, Part I, p. 112.

which shall be seen below. In the records of the Provincial Court, we find the following entry:

administration of mr Hawleys estate granted to the Captaine, mr Tho: Cornwaleys Esq &. the Inventory to be brought in within a moneth, and the Accompt within a twelve moneth. date 2. August 1638.¹⁷

The records contain a document from the Proprietor appointing him to this office. From it, we find that Hawley's will was dated October 20, 1633. Owing to the distance at which the three original executors mentioned in the will lived, it was deemed expedient by Cecilius Calvert to appoint Cornwaleys administrator "of the goods and chattells" of Jerome Hawley, on August 14, 1638. The Captain was ordered to exhibit to Secretary Lewger "a true and perfect Inventory of all the said goods & chattells within one moneth after the date hereof." The full account of his administration was to be made to the same official whenever he was called upon to do so.¹⁸

A memorandum was then filed "that this day came Thomas Cornwaleys Esq &c and acknowledgeth himselfe to owe unto the Lord Proprietarie of this Province and his heires one thousand pound sterling, to be levied upon the lands goods and chattells of the said Thomas Cornwaleys &c The condition of ths Recognizance is that if the said Thomas Cornwaleys shall well and truely performe the Commission of Administration of the goods and chattells of Jerome Hawley late Esq deceased, bearing date the day of August 1638 in all the severall contents thereof, wherewith the said Thomas Cornwaleys is charged in the said Commission, then this Recognizance to be void, or els to stand in full force."¹⁹

On April 20, 1639, Thomas Cornwaleys delivered to the Court the account of his administration of the goods of "Jerome Hawley late of St. Maries Esq deceased." We take the liberty of giving this account in full as found in the records of the Provincial Court. It will not be without interest as

¹⁷ IV—*Archives of Maryland*, Court, p. 39.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

showing the amount of Mr. Hawley's estate and containing the names of some of the earliest colonists of Maryland. Furthermore it will show the financial status of some, whose debts it was deemed necessary to mark down as "desperate."

Thomas Cornwaleys debtor to the estate of Jerome Hawley as followeth ²⁰

	l	s	d
to goods received, as p Inventory	849	06	9
to a debt received of Thomas Hebden	003	12	6
to a debt received of John dandie	003	13	3
to a debt received of John Wyatt	000	17	0
to a bill from Cyprian Throughgood	005	07	0
to a bill from Anthony Cotton	008	17	6
to rec of Capt: Evelin & Company, a debt of 1824 l tob:	022	16	0
	894	06	0

to desperate debts upon bills as followeth

	l	s	d
from Thomas Bradnock & Richard Purlivant; 1500 l tob	018	15	0
from william medcalfe 500 l tob:	006	05	0
from Ed: Comins & Tho: Pett, 800 l tob:	010	00	0
from Robt Philpott, and Laurence Mollock; 777 l tob.	009	14	6
from will: Coxe and John Smith, 450 l	005	12	6
	050	07	0
total	944	13	-

p contra Credr

	l	s	d
by expended for funerall charges	005	00	0
by paid the tailor for mourning clothes	003	00	0
by paid in Surgeons bills	005	00	0
by housekeeping defrayed 40. daies	005	00	0
by paid the praisers for their paines	004	04	0
by paid mr Lewger for a debt due to Tho: Cullamore	002	00	0
by paid ditto for a debt due to himselfe	001	00	0
by paid Leonard Calvert Esq for a debt due to him	001	06	0
by paid Robt Percy for wages	001	05	0
by paid John halfehead for work done	002	15	0
by paid Randoll Revell for worke	000	15	0
by paid An Smithson for wages	001	04	0
by 3. bbrels corne paid to will: Lewis	001	04	0
by paid my selfe for a debt due upon specialtie and Accompt	410	00	0
by paid to the Lord Baltemore upon judgement	234	04	4

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1.

	l	s	d
by paid Andrew Chappell upon judgemt	012	00	0
by paid Edward Brent for wages	015	00	0
by paid Xpofer Plunkett for wages	005	00	0
by paid John Cook for wages	009	00	0
by paid Richard Hill for wages	014	00	0
by paid Cyprian Throughgood upon judgement	005	07	0
by paid Anthony Cotton upon judgemt	015	10	0
by paid Richard Gardner upon judgemt	012	10	0
by expended in suits and Court fees	008	10	0
by so much allowed for my paines	010	00	0
by paid Capt: Evelin & company for wages of Edmond deering	002	02	0
by paid Thomas Capley. Esq in part of a debt recovered by judgemt	087	09	8
by bills of desperate debts delivered to the said mr Coply toward further satisfaction of his debt	050	07	0
	944	13	

This account is followed by a letter from the Proprietary approving of the manner in which the Captain discharged his duties as administrator. It runs as follows:

“Cecilius Lord &c. to all xtian people to whom these pnts shall come, greeting. Whereas by or lres of Admraon bearing date at St. Maries 14th August 1638 we did ordeine & appoint Capt: Thomas Cornwaleys Esq & one of or Counsell of or Province of Maryland to be Admrator of the goods & chattells within or said Province wch were Jerome Hawley's late of St Maries Esq deceased at the time of his death, and bound & charged him as well by his corporall Oath as by a Recognisance of 1000 pounds sterling, to make a full and perfect Inventory of all the said goods and chattells, & to render a faithful and true Accompt thereof when he should be thereunto called by or Secretary or had otherwise fully administred the same According whereunto the said Tho: Cornwaleys on 13th September following made & delivered to or Secretary an Inventory of the said goods & chattells amounting to the value of 944 pounds 13 shillings . . . and afterward that is to say on 20th Aprill 1639. brought in his Accompt of the said estate to or said Secretary who hath diligently perused & examined the same & findeth the funerall expences & other charges reasonably defrayed and the just

debts orderly & rightfully discharged by the said Thomas Cornwaleys on the behalfe of the said Jerome Hawley to amount to the full summe of the estate received, that is to say to the summe of 944 pounds 13 shillings sterling. Know ye therefore that we well approving the faithfulness and diligence of the said Thomas Cornwaleys, doe hereby admit & approve of his said Accompt, and signifie & declare tht the said Tho. Cornwaleys hath fully administered the goods & chattells of the said Jerome Hawley; And therefore doe hereby quite claime & discharge him of his aforesaid Recognisance, & of all further Accompt and question touching the said Admraon. Witnesse or deare brother Leonard Calvert Esq, Leiutent grall of or said Province of maryland. Given at St. maries this 29th Aprill 1639.”²¹

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

CHAPTER IX

CORNWALEYS AS LEGISLATOR

(Continued)

Toward the close of the eventful year 1638, Lord Baltimore sent word to the Governor of his Province to prepare for the Third Assembly of Maryland, which was to meet at St. Mary's on February 25, 1638. The following summons was directed to Captain Cornwaleys:¹

Cecilius Lord Proprietary &ca to our dear Friend & Councillor Thomas Cornwaleys Esqr Greeting whereas we have appointed to hold a General Assembly of the Freemen of our Province at our Fort of St. Marys on the five and twentieth day of February next we do therefore hereby will and require you that all excuses and delays sett apart you repair in Person to the said Assembly at the time and Place prefixed there to advise and Consult with us touching the important affairs of our Province.

Given at St. Marys the 18th January 1638.

The same announcement was made to Mr. Giles Brent, Councillor, Mr. Fulk Brent, Mr. Thomas Greene and Mr. John Boteler. Notification was furthermore sent to the freemen of the various Hundreds, St. Marys, St. Georges, St. Michaels; to Mattapanient and to Kent Island, to elect their Burgesses or Representatives for the coming session of the Assembly which was done as directed.²

The following were the members of the Assembly that met at the Fort at St. Mary's, on February 25, 1638: The Lieutenant General, Leonard Calvert, Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, Messrs Fulk Brent, Giles Brent, Secretary Lewger and Thomas Greene.³ The Delegates were: Messrs Gerard and Gray, for St. Mary's; Wickliff and Rebell, for St.

¹ *I—Archives of Maryland*, Assembly, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

³ Note the absence of Boteler though invited by special summons. This was the gentleman referred to in connection with the Kent Island disturbance. Streeter remarks that his former hostility had been tempered and the Governor was desirous of gaining his good will (*Streeter, Papers*, etc., p. 149).

Georges; Cauther and Price, for St. Michaels; Bishop, for Mattapanient; and Thomas and Brown, for Kent.⁴

Immediately after assembling, "they removed the Assembly to be held at Saint Johns."⁵ St. John's was probably the mansion house of the manor of St. John's near the town of St. Mary's, reserved for the Governor.⁶ When the session had convened at this place, the letter of the Proprietary was read. It was addressed to Leonard Calvert and gave him "full Power and Authority" in the Assembly to assent to such legislation which he thought good and necessary for the government of the Province after it had passed with the approval of the freemen of the Province or of the majority of them. These laws were to be, in as far as possible, conformable to the laws of the mother country and were to hold till Lord Baltimore or his heirs should set them aside.⁷ The Proprietary was led to this resolution of allowing the governed to originate their laws because he saw that to insist on his right to suggest the laws would only lead to difficulties that would retard the progress of the colony. Consequently he decided to waive his claim to the initiative and to concede to the Marylanders the right to legislate for themselves. Furthermore, the code already prepared was not given his approval for this very reason.⁸

On the first day of the Assembly, Cuthbert Fenwick and Robert Clerke claimed a voice as not having assented to the election of the Burgesses from St. Mary's and they were admitted to membership in the law-making body. It seems that the two men rested content with having established their right for their presence is not noted in the subsequent acts of this session.⁹ The Orders to be observed during the sessions were substantially the same as those in force during the Second Assembly with several new ones. Thus any late arrival was to be amerced twenty pounds of tobacco which

⁴ *I—Archives*, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. I, p. 131.

⁷ *I—Archives*, pp. 31-2.

⁸ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 148.

⁹ *I—Archives*, p. 32; also Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 105.

was to be "paid to the use of the house." Another ran as follows: "After any Bill hath been once read in the house the Bill shall be read ingrossed or utterly rejected and upon any day or day [sic] appointed for a Session all Bills engrossed shall be put to the question and such as are assented to by the Greater part of the house and if the Votes be equal that shall be judged the Greater part which hath the Consent of the Lieutenant General shall be undersigned by the Secretary in these words the freemen have assented and after that the President shall be demanded his assent in the name of the Lord proprietary and if his assent be to the Bill, the Bill shall be undersigned by the said Secretary in these words the Lord Proprietary willet that this be a Law." ¹⁰

The action of this Assembly was varied and important. However, since no detailed account is given as to the opinions of the members on the laws as they were discussed, it will suffice to give briefly the import of the legislation effected which laid the foundation of the religious, civil and social organization of the Province. The most important laws framed were of this tenor, that "Holy Church within this province shall have all her rights and privileges," ¹¹ "The Lord Proprietarie shall have all his rights and prerogatives," "The Inhabitants of this Province shall have all their rights and liberties according to the great Charter of England." Crimes and misdemeanors were defined, and their penalties fixed, courts were established and their jurisdiction determined, inferior officers provided for and their oaths of office set down, a military establishment was ordered; in short, to use the words of Streeter, "the whole machinery of government planned and prepared to be set in motion." ¹² The sessions came to a close on March 19, 1638.

This Assembly, like the preceding, was not confined merely to legislation. Sometimes it assumed the functions of a

¹⁰ *I—Archives*, p. 33.

¹¹ Much has been written to show that was meant by the phrase "Holy Church." Briefly, it meant in this case, no particular church provided it was a church that professed a belief in Christ.

¹² Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

Court to try both civil and criminal cases. An instance of the latter will not be without interest as it shows the different temperaments of the men who formed the Assembly. The proceedings of the trial itself are not recorded. We only have the account of the opinions of the members as to what punishment was meted out to the culprit. The record of the event reads as follows: "Then was called John Richardson & charged with flight & Carrying away the Goods unlawfully from his Master & found Guilty by the whole house and adjudged by the house to be whipped three several times." Five were in favor of inflicting the penalty just mentioned. Mr. Greene thought that he should be hanged. The two Brents voted for whipping him "very severely"; the Captain, that he should "be whipped provided that he be Sorrowful for his fault"; and the Governor, that he "be laid in Irons and whipped three several times very severely."¹³

On two occasions, namely, on March 1st and March 7th, Captain Thomas Cornwaleys "was amerced for tardie," twenty pounds of tobacco.¹⁴

On the day following the close of the Assembly, the Court was opened at St. Mary's. At the first session, the various officers of the Province who formed part of the same took the oaths prescribed, namely, the Oath of Allegiance to the King and the oath which each man was obliged to take in virtue of the office he held in the Province. The oath to the King was defined at the last Assembly.¹⁵ Thomas Cornwaleys took, besides the Oath of Allegiance, the one appointed for a Counsellor.¹⁶

On April 25, 1639, Governor Calvert issued instructions to Secretary Lewger to draw up the following document: ¹⁷

These are to will and Require you to draw a Commission to Captain Thomas Cornwaleys Esqr &ca for the hearing and determining of any Civil Causes

¹³ *I—Archives*, p. 37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

¹⁵ *III—Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 85.

¹⁶ For the Oath of a Counsellor, see *I—Archives*, p. 45.

¹⁷ *III—Archives*, p. 85.

hapning during my Absence from St. Marys in the same manner as I my Self might do by the Law of the Province.

Just how long this commission of the Captain lasted cannot be stated with certainty. One month is the longest period during which it could have held force since we find in the records of the Council that the Governor was again at his post on May 28th. When Calvert returned, Cornwaleys carried out his long desired plan of going to England. Just when he set sail is a matter of conjecture. On May 29th, the Lieutenant General issued an appointment to Giles Brent as Captain of the military forces of the colony since the militia was "destitute of a Captain to lead and Command them and to exercise them in the discipline Military."¹⁸

Just what took the Captain to his native land has not come down to us. Various opinions may be formed however, as to his intention. Most probably he wished to see his wife who was there. In his letter of the previous year, he referred to her condition being such as to indispose her to manage his affairs.¹⁹ And we have no reference to her having come to Maryland in the interim. Streeter supposes that the management of Hawley's estate took him to England.²⁰ In the letter of the Captain referred to, he also expressed the wish to have an interview with Cecilius Calvert. Whatever may have been his design, his stay there was not protracted beyond a year and a half.

During Cornwaleys' absence from the Province, a session of the Legislature convened at St. John's on October 12, 1640. Previous to its opening, on September 19, 1640, the following summons was issued by the Governor in the name of the Proprietary to Cuthbert Fenwick, Attorney of Cornwaleys:

Caecilius &ca to our trusty Cuthbert Fennick Gent
Atty within this Province of our right trusty &ca
Greeting whereas we have appointed to hold a
General Assembly at St. Marys on monday the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁹ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, p. 170.

²⁰ *Streeter, op. cit.*, p. 152.

twelfth October next at which we could much have wished to have had the presence and advice of our trusty Counsellor Thomas Cornwaleys which being not to be presumed upon by reason of his absence nevertheless for the respect we bear unto him and out of our care that so great a member of our province may have his Attorney there to take care of such things as may concern him therefore we do hereby authorise you to repair personally to the said Assembly there to have place voice & seat as our said Councillors Proctor or Attorney during his absence.²¹

In this Assembly, we find two new "Hundreds" represented, St. Clement's and St. Margaret's. Furthermore, Mattapanient had risen in numbers as to warrant its representation as a Hundred and was known as Conception Hundred.²² It is not necessary to dwell on the acts of this Assembly since the Captain was not present at its sessions. However, two acts are worthy of notice. The first was of the same import as one passed at the preceding Assembly, that "Holy Church within this Province shall have and enjoy all her Rights liberties and Franchises wholly and without Blemish." The other decides who is to be chief executive in the colony in case the Governor should die or be absent from the Province without having nominated another to act for him. In this case the vacant office was to be occupied by the first Councillor, who would then hold office until the return of the Lieutenant General or the appointment of another by the Proprietary.²³

During the next Assembly which sat during the early part of the month of August, 1641, Cuthbert Fenwick was still acting as Attorney for Cornwaleys. At the next session,

²¹ *I—Archives*, pp. 88-9. Cuthbert Fenwick was the progenitor of two American Bishops, Rt. Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O. P., founder of the Dominicans in the United States, pioneer missionary in Kentucky, "Apostle of Ohio" and first Bishop of Cincinnati; and of Rt. Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, S. J., second Bishop of Boston. For a biographical sketch of Cuthbert Fenwick, cf. O'Daniel, *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P.* (Chapter I); O'Daniel, *Cuthbert Fenwick—Pioneer Catholic and Legislator of Maryland*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. v, pp. 156 *et seq.*; Davis, *The Day-Star of American Freedom*, pp. 207 *et seq.*

²² *I—Archives*, pp. 88-9.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

which opened on March 21, 1641, we again find the Maryland Counsellor at his post of duty. All the freemen were invited to take part. The reason for calling all the freemen and not only the Burgesses was because most of the laws then in force had expired, having been enacted only temporarily.²⁴ The very first act of the House was a declaration that it could not be adjourned or prorogued without its own consent.²⁵ The power of dissolution was not denied.²⁶

The next day a bill for an expedition against the Indians was introduced. The text of this legislation is not given. Opposition was raised to the same, the objection being, that it was not to be left to the discretion of the Governor and Counsel.²⁷ A petition was presented in the afternoon of the same day by David Wickliff "in the name of the Protestant Catholicks of Maryland." Action was postponed till the next morning. The offended parties complained that Mr. Thomas Gerard had taken away the key to the chapel and carried away several books from the same. They asked that the offense be dealt with as justice demanded. What Gerard said in his defense is not recorded. Whatever it was, it did not satisfy the House and he was found guilty of a misdemeanor. The penalty meted out to him was to restore the key and the books and to relinquish all title to them or to the house. A fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco was imposed to be used for the maintenance of the first minister that should arrive.²⁸

The only new enactment of this session was "An Act for Granting of one Subsidye." It provided for the contribution to the Proprietor of fifteen pounds of tobacco by every inhabitant of the Province, children under the age of twelve years being excepted. The act was unanimously passed and was designed as a token of gratitude to Lord Baltimore and as a remuneration for the expenses incurred in their behalf.²⁹

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁶ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

²⁷ *I—Archives*, p. 118.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The laws framed at this session were published under the Great Seal on March 26, 1642.

The next session of the legislature opened on July 18, 1642. The body consisted of the Burgesses and others called by special writs. At the opening of the same, Robert Vaughn, a member from Kent Island, proposed to separate the House; one part to be made up of the Burgesses. This the Governor refused to sanction. The separation of the House into two chambers later became the law of the Province.³⁰ The essential business brought to the attention of the legislators, was an expedition against the Indians which met with decided opposition. The Governor then informed them that it was not his purpose to ask their advice or consent in the matter. The power of making war rested, in virtue of the Charter, with the chief executive. He merely wanted to know what assistance they could render in case he decided to proceed against the savages. The Secretary then proposed that twenty pounds of tobacco be levied upon each man to defray the expenses of such an expedition. The action on the bill was postponed and was not again brought up during the sessions.³¹ Other legislation dealt chiefly with judicial matters and the Assembly came to a close on August 1st. Calvert's intentions with regard to punishing the hostile Indians were not frustrated by the opposition of the Assembly. What action he took in this difficulty will be the subject of a succeeding chapter.

We now come to the important Assembly which began its business on September 5, 1642. During the sessions, Thomas Cornwaleys held a great number of proxies, on one day having as high as eleven, and on another, as many as nineteen.³² No other member had as many proxies on any day of the sessions. This Assembly was composed of all the freemen of the Province.

On the first day, the Governor, Captain Cornwaleys, Mr. Brent, the Secretary, the Surveyor, Mr. Weston and Mr.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 172, 173, 174, 176, 180.

Greene were appointed a Committee to draw up a bill touching a war to be made on the Indians and other matters pertaining to the safety of the colony.³³ This group of men reported the bill in the afternoon session. The Governor demanded exemption from the levy of men provided for in the document submitted. His request was refused by a vote of one hundred to thirty-eight.

On September 6th, the Governor offered a measure for the repeal of all laws enacted at the preceding Assembly. The same committee mentioned above was appointed, with the exception that Mr. Weston's seat was to be occupied by Mr. Whitcliff, to draw up other suggestions for the safety of the colony. In the afternoon of the same day, the Captain was named as one of a committee of eight to consider bills to be propounded on the next day that the body met.³⁴

The committee, at the time appointed, submitted several bills among which was one providing for officers. This had been construed as giving the Governor power to compel a freeman to serve in such offices as that official was pleased to bestow, provided a reasonable fee was allowed. Cornwaleys and Brent offered a determined opposition to the passage of this law, on the ground that it was unnecessary. Besides it gave away their liberties and was unlimited in giving the Governor a right to force men to the office of Sheriff, as well as others, thus "against common right and decency compelling men to be hangmen." Calvert was willing to make a concession with regard to compelling anyone to become an executioner.³⁵ The bill was, however, defeated.³⁶

On the morning of September 12, the report of the committee was read before the assembled freemen. Twenty-five bills were proposed. A provision was made by the Committee that the laws should last for three years. To this Calvert objected. When the question was submitted to discussion, it was found that twenty-six "voices" were in

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

favor of the legislation enduring till the first meeting of the next Assembly. Among the voters were the Governor, who held three votes and the Secretary, with four. Forty-six were in favor of the laws having their force till the first meeting of the next Assembly with the proviso that, in case none were called before the lapse of three years, they were to hold for that period of time. Captain Cornwaleys and Mr. Brent, with their proxies, voted that they should have their vigor for three years. In the afternoon the question was again discussed. The voting resolved itself to two opinions. That they should endure for three years or else to the next meeting of the Assembly in case one was called within that time, was favored by the Governor, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Surveyor, Mr. Binks, Thomas Hebden and Mr. Weston, for themselves and their proxies. That they should last "for three years certain" was championed by Captain Cornwaleys, Mr. Brent, Mr. Greene, Nicholas Hervey, Randall Rebell, John Medley, Francis Posie and Nicholas Cosin, for themselves and their proxies, who carried their point.³⁷

On September 13th, the last day of this Assembly, the Bill for an Expedition against the Indians again came before the House. It was passed by all, except that Captain Cornwaleys with "fifteen of his Proxies of St. Michaels hundred" voted against it by reason of the clause exempting the servants of the Governor.³⁸ Twenty-five Acts were published after this Assembly "at St. Maries under the Great Seale, the fifteenth day of September 1642." It is worthy to note that after each is added "This Act to endure for three years from this present day."³⁹

During the session of the Assembly which had just closed, Cornwaleys and Brent had stirred up considerable opposition to various measures. This fact did not prevent the Governor from bestowing upon both men responsible public appointments. When called upon they were ever ready to give

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-198.

their services to the Colony unselfishly. An exception must be made to this last statement in the case of the Captain. On the records of the Provincial Court we find the following entry for September 16, 1642, the day following the publication of the Acts of the Assembly: "Captaine Thomas Cornwaleys Esq being demanded to take the Oath of a Counsellor absolutely refused to be in Commission or to take the Oath." The reasons for this unexpected procedure are not given. Taken in connection with the course he followed in the Assembly, it affords strong ground for the inference that the friendly relations between Calvert and Cornwaleys were disturbed. Since the Captain, however, was ever willing to render every service in his power to the colony in other capacities, we think that his refusal to "be in Commission" was due to dissatisfaction with the legislative proceedings.

CHAPTER X

INDIAN DISTURBANCES

From the foundation of the town of St. Mary's, the Maryland settlers strove to live on friendly terms with the aboriginal inhabitants. Amicable relations were the order of the day. The object of Lord Baltimore in using every means in his power to conciliate the tribes was chiefly to civilize them and to bring to the benighted children of the forest the light of the Gospel. From the annual letters of the Jesuits we receive glowing accounts of the success of the missionaries. Several chieftains were won over from false worship to the cult of the one true God. Following the example of their leaders many of the savages embraced the true faith. In fact, the early days of the colony were singularly free from hostile demonstration on the part of the Indians.

There were other tribes living on the frontiers of the Province who were inimical not only to the colonists but to the Indians who were the friends of the settlers. With these, Governor Calvert had to reckon. The cause of their hostility was chiefly due to the intrusion of the colonists. The Piscatoway and Patuxent tribes were the friends of the Marylanders. The Susquehanocks were the enemies of both the Indian and English inhabitants of Maryland. They were the principal enemies with which the colonists had to deal. Some eastern shore Indians also acted in a manner as to render it necessary to adopt measures to repel them.

As early as May 28, 1639, the Governor and Council saw fit to arm the colonists for repelling any attack on the part of the Indians of the eastern shore.¹ The Susquehanocks were also mentioned in this proclamation. For further protection, it was thought wise to arm the colonists, particularly those living about St. Mary's, for purposes of defence. Mr. Giles Brent was appointed on May 29, 1639, Captain of the

¹ III—*Archives of Maryland*, Council, p. 85.

military forces, next in rank to the Governor, and was ordered to train the inhabitants in martial exercises.² He was also directed to provide for arms and ammunition. In this commission to Brent, Leonard Calvert refers to the absence of Captain Cornwaleys. From the Governor's words, it is evident that, had Cornwaleys been available, he would undoubtedly have been his choice for the post. The reason of Cornwaleys not being able to assume the charge was due to his preparations for his visit to England described in a previous chapter. Up to this time, he had been looked to as the main reliance of the colonists in their encounters with the natives or other enemies.

Strict injunctions were issued to the settlers that no weapons were to be sold to the savages. Parties were sent to punish the marauding Maquantequats.³ The old friends of the colony, the Patuxents, were, by a public proclamation on January 24, 1639, declared under the protection of the English, and all persons were forbidden to do them violence.⁴

When the Susquehanocks on the north, and the Wicomeses and Nanticokes on the east, made inroads on the territory of the Marylanders, Calvert found it necessary to issue another proclamation, on July 10, 1641.⁵ In it, he obliged the settlers to be on their guard against the Indians. Any person who harbored a savage was amenable to martial law. Besides, he authorized the people of Kent to shoot any Indian that should make his appearance on the island.⁶

Since the Indians about Maryland continued their hostilities, probably with increased violence, it was deemed advisable to introduce a rigorous military discipline among the inhabitants than had hitherto been practised. Accordingly, certain orders were promulgated, on June 23, 1642, "upon pain of death or other penalties, as by Severity of Martiall Law may be inflicted":

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 102; also III—*Archives*, p. 98.

That noe Inhabitant or housekeeper entertain any Indian upon any colour of License, nor doe permit to any Indian any Gunn powder and Shott.

That all housekeepers provide fixed gunn and Sufficient powder and Shott for each person able to bear arms.

Noe man to discharge three Gunns within the space of one quarter of an hour nor concurr to the discharging Soe many, except to give or Answer alarm.

Upon the hearing of an Alarum every housekeeper to answer and continue it Soe far as he may.

Noe man able to bear arms to goe to church or Chappell or any considerable distance from home without fixed gunn and one Charge at least of powder and Shott.

Of these every one required to take notice upon pain of Content. for better execution, the Serjt to inform the Lieutent Governor or Captaine.⁷

On August 18, 1642, Captain Cornwaleys was again placed in charge of military operations in the colony. His commission made him Captain General of the army. The same was issued "to leavie men and Command them, and use all power and means conducing in his discretion to the resistance and Castigacon of the enemies and vanquishing of them in as full and ample manner as any Capt General of any army may, and requiring all officers and soldiers &c to be obedient and assitant to him upon paines as may be Inflicted by Martiall Law."⁸

At this juncture, one of the settlements at Piscataway was attacked, the inhabitants murdered, and a large amount of plunder carried away. Even the Jesuit missionaries, devoted and fearless as they were, began seriously to think of abandoning their station, and establishing themselves at Potu-paco (Port Tobacco), which was less exposed to the ravages of the cruel and ever active Susquehanocks. On the east also, the savages had begun their bloody work. Even the peaceful Patuxents, so long the friends of the Marylanders, showed signs of an aggressive and hostile spirit.⁹ This action seems

⁷ *III—Archives*, p. 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁹ Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-8.

to have been the result of the Governor's determination despite the opposition of the Assembly to undertake an expedition against the Indians.¹⁰

Five days after Cornwaleys' appointment, Calvert addressed a letter to Governor Berkeley of Virginia. The message recounts the aggressions of the savages. Five Virginians and eight Marylanders had been barbarously massacred. For the vindication of the "Honour of our Nation" and to avenge the murder of the colonists, he asks Berkeley to furnish one hundred men, well armed, to meet the same number of the Maryland forces. On October 1st, they are to meet at Kent Island and together to inflict condign chastisement on their insolent and merciless enemies.¹¹ As a measure of precaution, Henry Bishop was authorized to take command of the fort at Patuxent, which was to be a place of rendezvous of the inhabitants of the vicinity in case of danger.¹² Furthermore, notice was issued on August 28th, providing for the safety of the settlers in case of any sudden attack, and indicating the strongholds within prescribed districts, to which women and children could fly for protection.¹³ Finally the following was published:

Proclamation By the Lieutent Generall

These are to publish and declare that the Sesquihanowes, Wicomeses, and Nantacoque Indians, are enemies of this Province, and as such are to be reputed & proceeded against by all persons. Given at St Maries Sept 13th 1642

LEONARD CALVERT ¹⁴

On September 13, 1642, the bill was passed for an expedition against the Indians. This act empowered the Governor, or any Captain or Captains under him, to organize an expedition against the Susquehanocks, or any Indians who had participated in the late ravages in the colony. It authorized

¹⁰ *I—Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, p. 130.

¹¹ *III—Archives*, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

him to take out of every county or hundred, every third man able to bear arms. The Governor and his servants were exempted from being reckoned in any hundred "to any purpose of this Act." It was this phrase to which, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Cornwaleys offered an objection. The various hundreds were to defray the expenses of arming and otherwise equipping the men. Provisions were to be supplied in the same way. The freemen of the hundreds were to judge the number of men and the amount of ammunition, food, etc., to be contributed by them.¹⁵

Though Governor Calvert was convinced of the grave necessity of an expedition against the Indian marauders for the welfare and even the existence of the Colony, and pressed his designs with dogged earnestness, various circumstances arose to thwart his plans. The letter addressed by him to the Governor of Virginia in the latter part of August, did not reach James City until October 5th, when it was at once put before the Council. That body, on consideration, decided to send an answer to Calvert, stating that it was "impossible to comply with his request, as many of the inhabitants were about to remove to new plantations, and were hardly able to get arms and ammunition to defend themselves; and those remaining upon the old plantations, not having a supply of military provisions, besides the heavy hand of God's visitation upon the plantations generally, of which few have recovered."¹⁶

The resources of the Marylanders were so scanty that it seemed almost an act of folly to attempt to organize an expedition against such powerful foes, with means so limited. The people, moreover, were not minded to undergo the hazard and exposure consequent upon a winter's campaign. Besides, they were filled with dismay at the prospect of a great debt accumulating, in case of a protracted Indian war and they were more strongly disposed to bear their hard lot

¹⁵ *I—Archives*, pp. 196-7.

¹⁶ Streeter, *op. cit.*, quoting Virginia Records, p. 178.

than to risk the possibility of being subjected to evils that would eventuate from such an undertaking.¹⁷ Calvert, nevertheless, issued a proclamation on January 17, 1642, announcing his purpose of providing by all possible care and diligence to provide for the safety of the Province, not only from all danger of the Indians, but "from feare of any." The colonists were authorized to kill any Indian, who should show himself, by land or water, without a white flag, within a district about the Patuxent River.¹⁸ The Indians were to be forewarned of the Governor's intent, by sending a messenger to the neighboring tribes to warn them not to approach that territory without showing the prescribed flag.

On December 16, 1642, the Governor sent out notice of his intention of holding an Assembly on February 3rd, but on February 1st, he decided that the session could not take place.¹⁹ One reason for this was Calvert's earnest wish to strike a blow at the savages, and his conviction that a meeting of the legislature would interfere with his intent.²⁰ He had no doubt been in consultation with Captain Cornwaleys on the subject. The Captain had decided to undertake an expedition and on January 23rd, he received a formal commission to this effect.²¹ The settlers were by no means as keen as the Governor on this matter, and had shown themselves disinclined to enlist in such an undertaking. The name of Cornwaleys was, however, a tower of strength, and with a view of gaining the good-will of the people and of urging them forward, Calvert, after issuing the Captain's commission, published the following proclamation:

By the Leiutent Generall.

whereas I understand of divers jealousies and feares abroad in the colony touching the Indians, and the expectation of a great charge & hindrance this yeare either in making a march upon them, or in guard against them, to the disanimation of the people, and foreslowing their usuall diligence & alacrity in proceeding in their labours for the next

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁸ *III—Archives*, p. 126.

¹⁹ *I—Archives*, p. 201.

²⁰ *Streeter, op. cit.*, p. 180.

²¹ *III—Archives*, p. 127.

cropp, for remedie whereof and to assure them of what consideration is had of their safeties & ease, I thought fitt to publish & declare hereby that all possible diligence is & shalbe used for the furnishing the country with ammunition, and that (as soon as conveniently may be) there shalbe an expedition sett forth against the Indian enemies of this Province, at the sole charge of his Lop (excepting the psons of the souldiers to make the expedition withall, for whose service only the country shalbe charged) and that Capt. Cornwaleys Esq is appointed & hath undertaken to goe as Generall of the said expedition, to whom I have given all purchase plunder that shalbe made upon the enemy during the said expedition, to be by him disposed of for the encouragement of voluntiers, that will sett themselves forth & serve at their owne charge, and for the reward of his souldiers as he shall find them to deserve. And further for the greater encouragement and reliefe of those that shall goe upon this service, I will use all circumspection that may be that the said expedition shalbe so made, and (by God's helpe) performed that it shalbe no considerable hindrance to any ones cropp: and that the debts of those whose pnt abilities will not reach to the satisfying of their credrs, without greivous pressure and disabling them for their necessary subsistence for the future, I will use meanes with their Credrs (if they be inhabitants of this Prov:) to forbear untill the next yeare, wch I have already assurance of from some of the chiefest. Given at St maries 23. Jan: ²²

Three days after the promulgation of the above, the license given on January 17th, to kill any Indian coming within certain limits of the colony, was revoked, except with regard to such Indians known to belong either to the Susquehanocks or Wicomeses. Public notice was also given that a treaty of peace with the Nanticokes was in negotiation. In order to arrange the details of the pact, a truce of six weeks was declared, during which these Indians were under his Lordship's protection.²³ In regard to the excepted tribes, every effort was to be brought into play to subdue them. But there were great obstacles to be sur-

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

mounted. The inhabitants were not in sympathy with the movement. There was a great scarcity of arms and ammunition. Besides, the expenses necessary for the undertaking were not forthcoming. By the 8th of April, 1643, Leonard Calvert decided to abandon his plans for the punishment of the savages and announced his intention in the following notice:

Whereas by a Proclamation bearing date at St. Maries the 23. January last upon certaine hopes then presumed upon of meanes to goe a march upon the Sesquihanowes I did declare to the colony that there should be an expedition sett forth at his Lops charge, with other things therein contained; wch meanes being not yet found answerable to my hopes I doe think fitt to advise further of the intended expedition; & therefore doe hereby annull & revoke the said pclamation, & the obligations therein undertaken on his Lops behalfe; & all powers and Commissions therein given touching or concerning the said expedition untill I have further considered thereupon.²⁴

Aside from the reasons assigned in this proclamation, the principal motive seems to have been the sudden determination of the Governor to sail for England. In fact, three days after, he appointed Giles Brent to act with full powers as Governor during his absence.²⁵

After the departure of the Governor, the Council determined to organize a company of ten good marksmen, and post them, as a garrison, fully armed and equipped, on Palmer's Island. They were to keep close watch on the movements of the Susquehanocks, whose fort was a few miles above the mouth of the Susquehanna River. They were to prevent these savages from proceeding down the bay to make an attack upon the unprotected frontiers of the colony.²⁶

Governor Brent then issued a commission to Captain Cornwaleys as Captain General of the army. He was empowered to take charge of all military operations on land and water within the County of St. Mary's. He was to use

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

all means possible for levying soldiers. Mutinies were to be punished. Any enemies were to be dealt with as occasion demanded. In a word, he was to use his discretion toward the protection of the inhabitants to the fullest extent of power vested in a Captain General.²⁷

Ever since the Marylanders landed at St. Mary's and took under their protection the Yaocomeses, the Patuxents and the Piscataways, and other neighboring tribes, they reassured the disheartened children of the forest by offering such protection as they could afford against the conquests and plunderings of the fierce Susquehanocks. These Indians, as well as the colonists from time to time, had to fear the sudden inroads and murders of those savages. At one time, reinforced by some of the Wicomeses, they came in canoes down the bay, and landing at Kent, robbed or murdered the most exposed inhabitants. Again, moving swiftly up the Patuxent, they made deadly attacks upon the planters scattered along the neck formed by that river and the Potomac. At another time, their fierce war parties, prepared for deeds of blood, followed their course in a southwest direction over the upper waters of Patapsco, and, suddenly emerging from the forest, fell upon the defenceless settlers who inhabited the region at the head of the Piscataway. No place was secure from their attack. No mercy was to be expected when they appeared on the scene.²⁸

No wonder then, that a man of strong sympathies and of public spirit, like Captain Cornwaleys, should have his sympathy moved and his wrath aroused at the tales of cruelty and wrong inflicted by these murderers. Little wonder then, that he was determined to retaliate and to inflict punishment on these savages, to teach them, if such a thing were possible, to respect the lives and the homes of the innocent colonists. Accordingly he made the strong resolve to throw the weight of his own popularity into the balance. Casting aside all reliance on the law to force enlistment of

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 186-7.

men, he determined to count entirely upon a sufficient number of volunteers who were willing to go with him on such an expedition as he had planned, relying on his courage and capacity to carry his designs to success. In order to proceed, he sought and obtained the consent of Governor Brent, who gave his approval by the following authorization:

Whereas we are informed of your propenseness to go a march upon the Sesquihanowes, and that several volunteers, to a considerable number, are willing and desirous to be led out by you upon such a march upon certain conditions treated and agreed between you and them, We, approving very well of such your and their forwardness for the vindication of the honour of God and the Christian and the English name, upon these barbarous and inhuman Pagans, do hereby authorize you to levy all such men as shall be willing to go upon the said march, and to lead and conduct them against the Sesquihanowes or other Indian enemies of the Province, in such time and manner as you shall think fit.²⁹

Just when and how the Captain carried out his plan of warfare with the Indians, the scant records of the time do not inform us. From a work published a few years after the events here chronicled, on an entirely different subject, we can arrive at a few facts, which throw some light on this interesting affair.³⁰

The author of this book states that the Swedes, then settled on the Delaware, and by no means favorably disposed toward the English settlements, had sold arms and ammunition to the savages. Besides, they had hired out three of their men to the Susquehanocks, who trained the tribes in the methods of European warfare. They had, moreover, led the savage band into Maryland and Virginia, and assisted them to take the chief of the Potomacs prisoner and to subdue eight Indian tribes in Maryland, who had been civilized and won over to the English rule. According to the writer, the Susquehanocks with their auxiliaries, the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁰ Plantagenet, *A Description of the Province of New Albion, American Colonial Tracts*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 17.

Ihonadoes and Wicomeses, to the number of two hundred and fifty, sprang upon the colonists of Maryland. Three Englishmen were killed and one Indian. Captain Cornwaleys, "that noble, right valiant and politic soldier," losing but one more man, killed, with fifty-three raw and tired Marylanders, twenty-nine savages.³¹ Yet this severe chastisement did not seem to suffice. According to Streeter, the Captain made one or more expeditions subsequent to this, which must have ended in disaster.³²

On June 18, 1644, a commission was issued to Captain Henry Fleete, who was to go to the fort at Piscataway, to negotiate with a deputation from the Susquehannocks. In the instructions given to Fleete, one article especially directed him to obtain the restitution of "as much as you can gett of the armes & other goods lost or left in our last march upon them, at least the two feild pieces." He was furthermore authorized to conclude peace with these Indians to the honor, safety and advantage of the English.³³

Before Leonard Calvert sailed for England, relations between him and Captain Cornwaleys were not as cordial as could have been desired. The reason was likely due to the conduct of the late Assembly and the subsequent resignation of the Captain from his Counsel. Another event that transpired about this time did not by any means serve to better matters in this regard.

On April 12, 1642, a commission was appointed by Lord Baltimore, consisting of Leonard Calvert, John Lewger and John Langford, to buy from Father Copley a certain house and some land connected with it. This house is referred to as the "Chappell House."³⁴ Thomas Cornwaleys was the representative whom Father Copley appointed to act for him.³⁵ The details of this negotiation are given in the records of the Provincial Court.

³¹ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 188-9.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *III—Archives*, pp. 148-9.

³⁴ *IV—Archives of Maryland, Court*, p. 292.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

At the instance of Capt Tho: Cornwaleys Esq, the Leuitent Grall interrogated Mr Secretary, upon oath whether he together with L. G. [sic] & J. L. were appointed by instruction from the right noble honorable the Lord Baltemore &c to purchase for his Lop of mr Copley a certaine house & land appteining called the Chappell house; And whether did he purchase it or no in his Lops name & for his Lops use for the price of 200 l sterling payable in Engl: by bill of exchange, & whether he were not ordered to charge bills of Exchange upon his Lop for the purchase. And to this Interrogatory mr Secretary saith upon his oath, that to the best of his remembrance he this deponent and Leonard Calvert & John Langford Esqrs, were appointed by Instruction from his said Lop to purchase for his Lop the chappell house at reasonable price; but whether the land appteining to it he remembreth not; & that they had order from his Lop (in default of other wayes to raise meanes for the purchase) to charge bill of exchange for it upon his Lop in England; and that they did purchase to the use of his Lop the said house & land appteining to it, & some other land adjoining, of the said mr Copley (or of the said Thomas Cornwaleys or of Cutbert fennick [Fenwick] in the right & to the benefitt of the said mr Copley) for the price of 200 l sterling. certifie under great Seale 28. March 1644.³⁶

On various occasions, as the accounts of the proceedings in the Court inform us, several attempts were made by Cornwaleys or Fenwick, acting as his attorney, to obtain payment of the two hundred pounds. With what result we shall see presently. The Captain appeared, on January 2, 1643. The case was examined by Giles Brent, John Lewger and James Neale. When Brent asked the opinion of the others, Neale held that the acting Governor, Giles Brent, could not proceed in the case since his powers were restricted. Brent and Lewger thought otherwise. After reviewing the oath of Lieutenant General, Brent delared "that according to his cunning & skill he found himselfe bound to grant processe in the said cause, notwithstanding the mandate to the contrary, the Law of the Province nor the office of Lieutenancy

³⁶ *Ibid.*

being either of them abrogated or restrained, & therefore judged the process should be granted to the plf."³⁷ He then gave Cornwaleys an opportunity of bringing his case before the court on February 1st.

When Cornwaleys appeared to prosecute Calvert, Lewger and Langford, as directed by Brent, Lewger testified as follows:

That he hath received no satisfaction nor any thing in value for wch he charged the said bill, althoughe he acknowledged it upon the bill, for the forme of it; but only took a house to his Lops use at the price of the 200 pounds charged in the Bill, wch house his Lop refuseth as not valuably bought, & the house relinquished to the plf. in the state as then it was, & therefore prayeth in equity that he be not compelled to pay the said mony, in regard the party for whom he bought it will not receive the house, nor is any thing yet received for that mony: & if the bill be recovered, he denieth the damage demanded.³⁸

The Lieutenant General then "demanded whether there was any reservation upon the bargain to relinquish it if disliked." The defendant was not able to prove any such reservation. The plaintiff was then required to make "oath of his damage." Cornwaleys asked a respite. "And the Enquest not agreeing upon the Bill give in charge prayed at 5 cl night to be discharged." The attorney for Lord Baltimore not gainsaying, the Lieutenant General discharged them.³⁹

While Cornwaleys was absent in England, as we shall see in the following chapter, Cuthbert Fenwick, his attorney, on January 9, 1644, brought the following petition before the Court:

The petition of Tho: Cornwaleys Esq, by his attorney Cutbert fenick
Sheweth
that whereas the horle [honorable] Governor together with John Lewger & John Langford Esqres did on the 12th Aprill 1642. deliver to your petr

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

[petitioner] a bill of exchange of 200 pounds sterl: upon the right horle the Lord Proprietary of this Prov: The said bill of exchange was refused by his said Lop and protested; and thereby the petr hath suffered damage to the value of 100000 pounds tob & cask; & therefore prayeth the said damage, of the said parties, according to justice.⁴⁰

Giles Brent communicated this petition to the Governor and asked him to appoint a day whereon he might give his reasons to the Counsel why he should not pay Cornwaleys his demands. Calvert promptly informed Brent that he was not bound to any such procedure and consequently would not appoint any time for the hearing of the case.⁴¹ On January 13, 1644, Fenwick appeared before Giles Brent and complained that the Governor refused to give satisfaction for the damages and also refused to give his reasons on the appointed day. Brent then ordered the sheriff, Edward Packer, to serve "an attachment" against the goods of the honorable Governor. Packer refused. On the next day, Brent issued another writ of the same tenor to Thomas Mathewes.⁴² This is the last reference to this affair recorded, an affair in which Cornwaleys did not receive justice. Consequently another link was added to the chain of misunderstandings between Calvert and the Captain.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 294.

CHAPTER XI

CORNWALEYS AND INGLE

During Governor Calvert's absence in England, another menace to the peace and welfare of the Maryland colony arose. As the whole affair was an echo of what was transpiring in the mother-country, a brief survey of events in England at this time is necessary. Hostilities between the King and Parliament were soon coming to an issue. Charles I summoned all his loving subjects north of the Trent, and within twenty miles to the south of that river to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the twenty-second of August, 1642. On that day the royal standard was set up. Parliament's answer to this challenge was that all who gave assistance to the King were to be regarded as traitors. Civil war was to ensue.¹

The influence of this state of things was bound to be felt in Maryland. That Lord Baltimore had any political relations with the royal party, there is no evidence and little probability. The obligations of his charter compelled him to have some relations with the King. His colony was, as we have seen, dependent on the sovereign only, and entirely independent of Parliament. Communications with the monarch on matters outside of the subjects of the controversy could hardly have been considered an offense, so long as Charles was not held to have forfeited his crown.² It seems as though Baltimore, about this time, was entertaining thoughts of taking refuge from the storm in Maryland; for in March, 1643, he was cited before the Lords and placed under bond not to leave the country.³

About this time, Richard Ingle, master of a trading vessel from London, came to the colony. He had previously been in Maryland. The first time his name appears in the colonial

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, Vol. vii, pp. 267 *et seq.*; Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, p. 127.

² Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8.

³ *Ibid.*

records is under date of March 23, 1641, when he petitioned the Assembly against Giles Brent "touching a direction to the Sheriff from his serving an execution."⁴ Captain Ingle was a rampant parliamentarian given to treasonable outbursts on his own quarter-deck. Sworn information was laid before acting Governor Brent that he had used language such as "the King is no King"; that he was "a captain for the Parliament against the King": and other expressions of the same kind. Ingle was a braggadocio, but a serious issue was thrust upon the Maryland authorities by his conduct. To allow him to go his way, was to commit the colony to the side of the parliamentary party; to arrest him as a traitor was to place it on the side of the King. As Browne remarks, the somewhat singular proceedings that followed look very much like an ingenious device to slip between the horns of the dilemma.⁵

In January, 1643, a warrant was issued by Brent to William Hardige, to arrest Ingle upon a charge of high treason. A similar order was sent to Captain Cornwaleys. He was to aid Hardige and to use all means possible to apprehend Ingle. The whole matter was to be done secretly.⁶ Ingle was thereupon arrested and given into the custody of the sheriff, Edward Packer. The Lieutenant General, Giles Brent, ordered the ship of Ingle seized together with his goods, until he should clear himself of the accusations against him. A guard was put on the ship, under John Hampton, who was to allow no one to come on board without a warrant from the Lieutenant General.⁷

Ingle escaped in the following manner. Packer had no prison, and consequently had to keep personal guard over his prisoner. He supposed, from "certain words spoken by the Secretary" that Brent and the Council had agreed to let Ingle go on board his vessel. When Cornwaleys and Neale

⁴ I—*Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, p. 120.

⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–9.

⁶ IV—*Archives of Maryland, Court*, p. 231.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245–6.

came forth from Brent's house bringing Ingle with them to the ship, on January 18, 1643, Packer accompanied them.⁸ Arriving on the ship, Cornwaleys said "All is Peace." He then persuaded Hampton to bid his guard lay down their arms and disperse. Ingle and his crew regained possession of their vessel. Under such circumstances Packer could not prevent the escape of Ingle since Councillor Neale and Captain Cornwaleys had assisted him by their acts and presence.⁹

A few days later, the following warrant was issued by Brent:

I doe hereby require (in his Maties name) Richard Ingle mariner to yield his body to Robt Ellyson Sheriff of this County, before the first day of febr. next to answere to such crimes of treason as on his Maties behalfe shall be objected agst him upon his utmost pill [peril] of the Law in that behalfe. And I doe further require all psons that can say or disclose any matter of treason agst the said Richard Ingle, to inform his Lops Attorney of it at some time before the said Court to the end it may be then & there prosecuted.¹⁰

Ingle, however, was not rearrested, though he still remained in the neighborhood of St. Mary's.¹¹ For some time following the Ingle question was agitated. For the sake of clearness, an account should be given of the acts concerning him as well as the persons connected with the affair, in the order of their occurrence.

After the warrant issued by Brent just referred to, "The Lieutent Grall appointed & commanded his Lops Attorney Grall to prosecute agst mr Neale, Capt Cornwaleys, Edward Packer, & John hampton for their rescuous & escape of mr Ingle, according to justice and equity."¹²

The accusations against the persons concerned were accordingly brought forth by the Attorney of the Proprietary in the following words:

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 258; Ingle, *Captain Richard Ingle*, p. 10.

⁹ *IV—Archives*, pp. 242 and 246.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹¹ Ingle, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹² *IV—Archives*, p. 232.

The Charge of John Lewger Esq his Lops Attorney Grall agst James Neale Esq one of his Lops Counsell, Capt Thomas Cornwaleys Esq, Edward Packer late sheriff, and John hampton planter.

That whereas on the 18th of this instant month, one Richard Ingle (mr of the good ship called the Reformation, now riding at anchor in St. Georges river) was by the Leiutent Grall committed to the custody of the said sheriff, for certaine matters of high-Treason informed agst him by one William Hardige tailor, and the said ship & goods seised into his Lops hands, & a guard putt upon the ship by the said Lieut Grall under the comand of the said John hampton, wth expresse charge not to pmitt the said Rich: Ingle to come aboard, without warrant of him the Lieut Grall Nevertheless he the said Sheriff on the day aforesaid without any order or consent of the said Leiut Gen: carried the said Richard Ingle aboard this said ship, and they the said Thomas Cornwaleys & James Neale, did consent, accompany, advise, & aid him therein; and further did pswade the said John hamton to discharge & disarme the said guard, saying All is Peace: whereupon and upon other his owne motion, the said John hamton did will the said Rich: Ingle & his seamen whereby the said Rich: Ingle possessed himselfe againe of his said shipp, & hath escaped out of the said Sheriffs custody. And this rescuous of the said ship, and escape of the said Rich: Ingle in maner aforesaid, was done & caused by the said parties, after their knowledge that he was accused & arrested of Highe Treason. to the great contempt of his Lops authority in the Leiut. gen: The ill example of others, and contrary to the peace of or Sovereigne Lord the king, his crowne & dignity.

And of this Rescuous and Escape of an offendor imprisond for highe Treason, the said Attorney impeacheth the said severall pties respectively, and prayeth that such pceedings & judgmt agst them be done therein as justice requireth.¹³

On January 21, Brent sent a summons to these men to answer to this charge within three days at the latest under pain of contempt and any further penalties that the law might inflict.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-3.

Information touching these matters were forthcoming from various persons. The first information contained in the suit was that of Hardige, who stated that at various times he heard Ingle say that "he was Captaine of Gravesend for the Parlamt agst the King"; that sometime in February, 1642, at Accomack, Ingle, having been commanded in the King's name to come ashore, refused to do so in the name of Parliament. Standing on board his ship he drew his cutlass threatening to cut off the head of any who should try to force him to do so. Hardige told the Attorney that one Richard Pinner could testify that Ingle had said in the presence of others that King Charles was no king or words to that effect.¹⁴

On January 29, information was communicated to Lewger by Daniel Duffill, regarding Cornwaleys' part in the escape of Ingle. He stated "that the said Captaine [Cornwaleys] coming aboard mr Ingle's ship, said to Jo. hamton All is Peace, & willed him that all was quiett & peace & willed the said Jo: hamton to goe out to the rest of the gard & will them to deliver up their armes to the gonner of the ship."¹⁵

The trial of the accused parties began on February 5, 1643. A jury was sworn in and the accusations against Ingle brought forth. The jurors could not agree on the various accusations of Hardige and toward evening prayed to be discharged. Their request was granted.¹⁶

On February 8th, Lewger brought forth his charge against Neale and Cornwaleys in practically the same form as given above. The Captain replied to the charge against him "that he did well understand the matters charged agst the said Rich: Ingle to be of no importance but suggested of meere malice of the accuser william hardige, as hath appeared since in that grand Enquest found not so much probability in the accusations as that it was fitt to putt him to his triall." Cornwaleys, according to his defence "supposed and understood" that Ingle went on board the ship with the consent of the Lieutenant General and his Counsel

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

and of the officer in whose custody he was. He then denied that he was guilty of allowing the escape of Ingle in the way charged to him. He therefore prayed to be dismissed.¹⁷

From this evidence, it is clear that the Captain did not consider Ingle culpable with regard to the treasonable utterance alleged against him. His argument was substantiated by the fact to which he refers as the grand Inquest, that the jury could not agree for a whole day on these very charges against Ingle, and consequently the members, on their own request, were dismissed. With regard to Cornwaleys' impression that Ingle went on board his ship with the permission of the Lieutenant General and Counsel and of the Sheriff, it is quite possible that he took it for granted that Neale and Packer were acting under approval of the authorities. On the other hand, Packer later excused himself on the plea that Cornwaleys and Neale were sufficient guarantee to him of Ingle's license to board his ship. Russell inclines to the view that the Captain was hoodwinked by Ingle, who made use of Cornwaleys' kind offices to effect his release and escape.¹⁸

On the following day we find the following entry upon the records of the Provincial Court:

1643

Febr: 9. upon instance of Capt Tho. Cornwaleys, to be dismissed the Cort without further delay the L. G. demanded of his Lops attorney, his opinion in point of law, whether accessary to rescue of one imprisoned for suspition of highe treason, were to be proceeded agst in this Prov: according to the rule expressed in or Lawes, in bar implied to the Law of England; or according to the law of Engl. and the Attorney delivered his opinion that the Court is bound to proceed according to the Lawes of this Province, both by his Lops Commission, & by their oath; (so far as the Attorney doth judge or understand:) although they have a bar implied to the law of England.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁸ Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 177.

¹⁹ *IV—Archives*, p. 249.

After considering the case as presented before the Court, the Lieutenant General pronounced sentence upon Captain Cornwaleys. He was found "to be accessary to the rescuous & escape charged; & adjudged . . . to lose to the Lord Proprietary one thousand pounds of tobacco."²⁰ Cornwaleys then requested that the levying of the fine be postponed. This was granted and his Lordship's Receiver was commissioned to "respite the levying of the fine till further order."²¹

On February 29th, the Sheriff of St. Mary's was ordered to collect the fine imposed. The order reads:

Levie one thousand pounds of tobacco on any the goods or debts of Capt Tho. Cornwaleys for so much adjudged by way of fine unto the Lord Proprietr agst him at the Court held on the 9th febr last, & deliver it so leaved into the hands of the Attorney of mr John wyatt Comder of Kent in discompt of so much due to the said Comder from the Lo: Proprietr and for so doing this shalbe yor warrt And this writt exequuted returne it into the Court at St maries.

GILES BRENT.²²

The fine of the Captain is reported "paid" in the account of Lewger for the year 1643.²³

We will now ascertain what happened to the other actors in the Ingle episode. Neale, in answering to the accusations against him, affirmed that he never took Richard Ingle into his charge, nor did he aid him in his escape. The Court thereupon reinstated him in his office as Councillor.²⁴ Packer, the sheriff, alleged that when he saw Cornwaleys and Neale bringing Ingle with them from the house of Brent, he concluded that their action was done with official approval. Furthermore, he alleged that Ingle escaped from his custody against his will. He too was exonerated.²⁵ Hampton escaped prosecution, presumably, for there is no further record of any action taken against him.²⁶ Thus Cornwaleys

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Ingle, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

was made to bear the brunt of the prosecution. It is singularly strange that the Captain was obliged to pay a heavy fine while the others were allowed to go free. The feeling in the colony was so strong against him that he was compelled to embark with Ingle for England.²⁷

Governor Calvert returned to Maryland in September, 1644. In February of the same year Ingle again appeared with an armed ship, the *Reformation*, having goods entrusted to him by Cornwaleys, valued at two hundred pounds. He also carried a commission from Parliament for carrying food, clothing and ammunition to the colonists in sympathy with the Parliamentary party.²⁸ St. Mary's was then taken. Governor Calvert was forced to flee to Virginia. For two years, Ingle and his band, with such lawless persons as they could get to join them, had possession of the southern part of the Province.²⁹ According to statements made in the Assembly of 1649, during this invasion, those who remained loyal to Lord Baltimore, "were spoiled of their whole Estate and sent away as banished persons out of the Province; those few that remained were plundered and deprived in a manner of all Livelyhood and subsistence only Breathing under that intolerable Yoke which they were forced to bear under those Rebels."³⁰ The people were tendered an oath of submission, which all the Catholics refused to take.³¹ In consequence of this refusal, they were severely treated, some being banished and others voluntarily leaving the colony. The two Jesuits, Fathers White and Copley, were sent in chains to England.³²

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁰ *I—Archives*, p. 238.

³¹ Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 267.

³² Winsor, *History of America*, Vol. III, p. 532. Fathers White and Copley, upon their arrival in England, were indicted under the penal laws, for having been ordained priests abroad and coming into England and remaining there as such, contrary to the statute, a crime punishable with death. When brought to trial, they pleaded that they had been brought violently into England, and had not come of their own will, but against it. The judges directed an acquittal. They were not, it would seem, liberated at once, but were detained in prison and finally sent out of England under an order of perpetual banishment. Father White never returned to his beloved Maryland; Father Copley returned in 1648. (Cf. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 63 et seq. and 69.)

Towards the close of 1646, Governor Calvert, who had been watching the progress of events from Virginia, deemed that the time was ripe for a counter revolution. He appeared at St. Mary's at the head of a small force levied in Virginia, and regained possession of his government without resistance. Ingle left Maryland, and the people returned to their allegiance with marked alacrity. The most lasting evil caused by Ingle's rebellion was the destruction of the greater part of the then existing records. Due to this fact, much of this whole episode remains involved in obscurity.³³

Ingle's baseness is best shown in his treatment of Captain Cornwaleys who had befriended him. The record of this perfidy is preserved for the historian in the *Archives of Maryland*, which contain the account as given in the *House of Lords Journal*. The account also reveals the fact that religion entered into the uprising of Ingle in Maryland and that it was not merely a political move in favor of Parliament against the King. It serves also to show that Cornwaleys' allowing Ingle to escape from the hands of the law was caused by the Captain having an inadequate comprehension of Ingle's machinations as he testified before the Provincial Court.

On February 24, 1645, Richard Ingle presented a petition "To the Right Honorable the Lords nowe in Parlyament assembled." In it he alleges that when he arrived in Maryland he found that the Governor there had received a commission to seize all the ships and goods of those friendly to Parliament, to force an oath upon them and to secure their extirpation. The petitioner avers that he deemed himself bound in fidelity to Parliament to risk all to come to the aid of the "well affected Protestants, against the said Tyrannicall Governor and the Papists . . . to anable him to take divers places from them and to make him a supporte to the said well affected." The petition contains the following relative to Cornwaleys:

But since his Ingle's Retorne into England the said
Papists and Malignants conspiring togeather have

³³ Winsor, *op. cit.*, pp. 532-3.

brought fictitious Actions against him att the Comon Lawe in the name of Thomas Cornwallis and others for pretended Trespasses.³⁴

Ingle concludes by affirming that "it would be of dangerous example to pmitt Papists and Malignants, to bring Action of Trespasse, or otherwise against the well affected for fighting and standing for the Parlyament."³⁵ The whole burden of the petition is to request the Lords to hold a hearing of the case or to refer it to a Committee to report on the true state of things and to order that the suits against the petitioner be stayed and no further proceeded in.³⁶

On March 2, 1645, we find the following entry relative to the case of Cornwaleys versus Ingle:

Thomas Cornwallis plt [plaintiff]

agst

Richard Ingle defte [defendant]

Cornwallis planted himselfe divers yeares since in the Pvince of Maryland in America, And about two yeares since Ingle came thither as Mr of a London Shipp to trade in those parts wth the English who had planted there and was there accused of high Treason for wordes wch he had spoken agst the King upon some Communicacon of the differences here between the King and Parliament upon wch accusacon Ingle was arrested and his Shipp and goods seised by the then Governor but Cornwallis to declare his affeccion to the Parliament found meanes within 8 howers space to free Ingle and to restore him to his Shipp and all his goods againe, for wch fact the greatest fine that by ye Lawes of that Country there imposed uppon Cornwallis and hee compelled to pay the same And then for the safety of his person enforct to trust his whole estate there wth a Servant and flie hither wth Ingle in the same Shipp And when Cornwallis came into England Ingle gave Testimony before a Comittee of his good affeccion to ye Parlaiment and of his great sufferings for that Cause.

Afterwards Ingle goeing into those pts againe Cornwallis entrusted him here in London by way of Trade wth diverse Comodities to the value of about 200 pounds but Ingle kept the Commodities, and taking advantage of Cornwallis his absence landed

³⁴ III—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 165; *Lords' Journal*, VIII, pp. 183, 186.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

some men nere his howse and rifled him to the value of 2500 pounds att the least And then returning into England complained before the Committee of Examinacons agst Cornwallis as an enemy to the State vainely hopeing by that meanes to shelter himselfe from the Law, but upon full debate of the businesse before that Committee Cornwallis was referred to his remedy att Law, and hath brought an accon att Lawe agst Ingle for the Comodities delivered here, and pcured a Comission out of the Chancery to examyne witnesses of the value of the goods taken in Maryland.

To stay these pceedings Ingle caused Cornwallis to be laid in prison uppon 2 faigned acccons of 15000 pounds but Cornwallis by the helpe of his friendes gott out of prison And that piet [project] faileing Ingle prferred a peticon agst Cornwallis before the Lordes in Parliamt And upon fayned allegacons hath pcured an Order to stopp Cornwallis his pceedings att the Lawe till the matter contened in the peticon be determined And nowe Ingle absents himselfe and psecutes noe further upon his peticon. And now Cornwallis hath peticoned the Lords that in regard hee hath attended severall dayes wth Councell and is noe longer able to beare that charge, that the businesse may be speedily heard and determined by their Lopps or that hee may be left att Liberty to try his accon att Lawe for the goods delivered to Ingle here.³⁷

This account speaks for itself. It contains the recitation of the wrongs Ingle perpetrated against the Captain. It was thus that he was repaid for his kindness. And Ingle to clear himself poses as a champion of Parliament, as a liberator of the colonists from a tyrannical Governor, as a warrior for the Protestant cause against the oppressions of the "Papists and Malignants." All this was done by Ingle to set at naught the charges which Thomas Cornwaleys brought against him. The state to which the Captain was reduced by the ingrate was such that he was "spoyld of all his goods and ruyn'd by the said Ingle."³⁸

At the same time that these affairs were transpiring, a petition was also addressed to the Lords in Parliament by

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

one Mary Ford, on behalf of the Protestant inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia. In it Cornwaleys is accused of being the chief actor in a design for the settling of a "Popish faction in Maryland." Several trumped up charges are brought against him that are so absurd that it is not necessary to recount them. In fact the Captain is even accused of the seizure of Ingle's ship when he was really the man judged responsible by the Maryland authorities for allowing that individual to escape.³⁹

How this matter between Ingle and Cornwaleys was settled does not appear.⁴⁰ On September 8, 1647, however, Richard Ingle transferred to Cornwaleys "for divers good and valuable causes" the debts, bills, etc., belonging to him, and made him his attorney to collect the same.⁴¹

Much might be said in extenuation of Cornwaleys' act in allowing the escape of Ingle from the hands of the Maryland authorities. According to his own testimony he certainly must be acquitted of much of the blame for this act. In the

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-9 and 171.

⁴⁰ Further references to the Cornwaleys-Ingle case are the following:

Cause of Ingle and Ford vs. Cornwaleys, set for Mar. 14, 1645-6. *L. J.*, Vol. viii, p. 206.

Mar. 31, 1646. Petition of Cornwaleys to Lords, mss. of the House of Lords; calendared in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Sixth Report*, appendix, p. 109; *III—Archives*, pp. 170-1.

Mar. 31, 1646. Cause postponed two weeks. *L. J.*, viii, 247.

Apr. 14, 1646. Hearing again postponed. Cornwaleys being ready, damages will be given him if it shall be thought fit at the trial.

Apr. 25. Petition of Mary Ford vs. Cornwaleys. mss. of House of Lords; calendared Hist. Mss. Comm., *6th Rept.*, app. p. 113; *III—Archives*, p. 171.

Apr. 25. Cause to be heard Tuesday next. *L. J.*, viii, 283.

Apr. 28. Again postponed to May 15. *L. J.*, viii, 288.

May 15. Postponed "Wednesday come sevensnight." *Ibid.*, p. 315.

May 22. Petition of Cornwaleys to Lords. Hearing having been set for May 27, which being fast day (monthly fast appointed to be kept on last Wednesday of every month; *L. J.* v., 320), asks that some other day be appointed. Complaints of delays and the expense to him. mss. of House of Lords; calendared as above, p. 117.

May 22. Trial to be had Wednesday next. *L. J.*, viii, 324.

Further postponements to June 11, July 2, 9, Oct. 16. *L. J.*, viii, 336, 369, 406, 424.

All papers relating to the Ingle-Cornwaleys controversy before the House of Lords will be published in full in the first volume of Dr. Leo F. Stock's forthcoming work, *Parliamentary Proceedings and Debates relating to America*.

⁴¹ Ingle, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

first place he did not believe that the accusations were so well founded with regard to the treasonable utterances of Ingle. Again, he acted under the impression that Ingle was allowed to depart by Brent and his Counsel. Whatever be the merits of this defense of Cornwaleys, this much is certain, that he got more than his deserts from the authorities in the colony. Furthermore, he was subjected to being made the proxy of all Ingle's vengeance against the Maryland authorities by being held responsible by that man for all the alleged crimes which Ingle brought against them. Though he may have been vindicated, which is by no means certain, nevertheless, he was forced to undergo imprisonment and the ordeal of a lawsuit to clear himself.

CHAPTER XII

FINAL SERVICES TO THE COLONY

The Ingle disturbance having ended, the colony settled down to peaceful pursuits. The Governor, Leonard Calvert, was not to enjoy the fruit of his successful effort to restore tranquility. He died on June 9, 1647, at the little capital of St. Mary's which he had founded, and where he had exercised with wisdom and moderation, the highest executive and judicial offices. On his death-bed, he appointed Thomas Greene, a Catholic and a royalist, his successor. The new executive proclaimed a general pardon to those in the Province who had a share in the late rebellion and also to all those who had fled from the colony, except Richard Ingle.¹

The monarchical cause was now prostrate in England. With Parliament supreme, Cecilius Calvert saw a great danger threatening his colonial domains. He deemed it prudent to make it impossible for his enemies to allege that Maryland was a Catholic colony. At the same time he felt it his duty to protect those of his own faith. He accordingly adopted a policy that was one of conciliation to the Puritans as well as of protection to the Catholics. In August, 1648, he removed Governor Greene, and appointed William Stone to the post. The new official was a Virginian, a zealous Protestant and a Parliamentarian. At the same time the Proprietor issued a new commission for the Council of the Province, appointing five men to form that body, three of whom were Protestants. A Protestant Secretary was also nominated.²

The Governor and Counsellors were required to swear that they would not molest any person in the Province professing, to believe in Jesus Christ, and in particular no Roman Catholic.³ In the year 1649, the Assembly of Maryland

¹ Winsor, *History of America*, Vol. III, p. 533.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 533-4.

passed the Act concerning Religion, or "Act of Toleration" as it is often called, which enforced by statute what had been the policy of the Proprietary from the beginning. Penalties are prescribed for "whatsoever person or persons within this Province . . . shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the ffather sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful Speeches, words, or language concerning the Holy Trinity; . . . whatsoever person or persons shall . . . utter any reproachfull words or Speeches concerning the blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of our Saviour or the holy Apostles or Evangelists." It also punishes all who shall call others by reviling names on account of religious differences. Profanation of the Sabbath became a penal offence. Furthermore no person was to be molested who professed a belief in Jesus Christ. The free exercise of religion was provided for. Any infringements on these provisions of the statutes were to be punished in proportion to the offence as provided by law.⁴

Just when Captain Cornwaleys returned to Maryland after his long absence cannot be definitely stated. About the latter part of the year 1652, he appeared in Court to seek redress for injury done his servants and property during the Ingle uprising. Accordingly he addressed a complaint to the Governor and Council of the Province touching this matter. We will give the account in full as recorded in the records of the Court as it throws much light on the possessions of the Captain.

The Humble Complaint of Thomas Cornwallis
Esq against Thomas Sturman & John Sturman
Coopers & William Hardwich Taylor.
Sheweth.

That Whereas it is well knowne that the Complt
was one of the Chiefe and first Adventurers for the

⁴ 1—*Archives of Maryland, Assembly*, pp. 244-7.

planting of this Province, and therein besides the danger and hazard of his Life and health, Exhausted a Great part of his Estate not only in the first Expedition, but alsoe in yearly Supplyes of Servants and Goods for the Support of himself and this then Infant Collony by which and Gods Blessing upon his Endeavours, he had acquired a Settled & Comfortable Subsistence haveing a Competent Dwelling house, furnished with plate Linnen hangings beding, brass, pewter and all manner of Houshold Stuff worth at the least a thousand pounds; about twenty Servants, at least a hundred Neat Cattell a Great Stock of Swine and Goats Some Sheep and horses, a new pinnace about twenty Tunn well rigged and fitted besides a New Shallop and other Small boates, with divers debts for Goods Sold to the quantity of neare A Hundred thousand weight of Tobacco, all of which at his going for England in or about Aprill 1644 he left and deposited in the Care and Custody of his Attorney Cuthbert ffenwick Gent, who in or about february following comeing from the Ship of Richard Ingle Marriner was as Soon as he Came ashore, Treacherously and Illegally Surprized by the Said John Sturman and others, and Carried prisoner aboard the said Ingles Ship, and there detained and Compelled to deliver the Complots house, and the rest of the premisses into the possession of Divers ill disposed persons whereof the Said Tho: and John Sturman and Wm Hardwich were three of the Chiefe, who being Soe unlawfully possesst of the Said house, and the premisses plundered and Carried away all things in It, pulled downe and burnt the pales about it, killed and destroyed all the Swine and Goates, and killed or mismarked almost all the Cattle, tooke or dispersed all the Servants, Carried away a Great quantity of Sawn Boards from the pitts, and ript up Some floors of the house, And having by these Violent and unlawfull Courses, forst away my Said Attorney, the said Thomas and John Sturman possesst themselves of the Complots house as their owne dwelt in it Soe long as they please and at their departing tooke the locks from the doors, and the Glass from the windowes, and in fine ruined his whole Estate to the damage of the Complot at least two or three thousand pounds, for which he humbly Craves the Justice of this Court against the said Tho: and John Sturman and Willm Hardwich towards the repaires of his Great Damage and loss wherein they have been no Small Shares.⁵

⁵ X—*Archives of Maryland*, Court, pp. 253-4.

Both parties in this law suit agreed to postpone the hearing of this case until the next General Assembly.⁶ What the further developments of the case were cannot be well determined as the records do not contain much reference to the same. However, an entry on the Court records dated March 6, 1653, tells us that two arbitrators, William Stone and Thomas Hatton, decided that several payments in tobacco were to be made by John Sturman on his own behalf and that of his father to the Captain. This was done to satisfy for all differences between them and Cornwaleys "heretofore depending in Court or referred to Assembly."⁷

About this time Cornwaleys presented a petition to the authorities to secure the land due to him for transportation of servants at various times. The document states: "It is well known, he Cornwaleys hath at his great cost and charges, from the first planting of this Province for the space of twenty-eight years, been one of the greatest propagators and increasers thereof, by the yearly transportation of servants, whereof divers have been of very good rank and quality, towards whom and the rest he hath always been so careful to discharge a good conscience, in the true performance of his promise and obligations, that he was never taxed with any breach thereof, though it is also well known and he doth truly aver it, that the charge of so great a family, as he hath always maintained was never defrayed by their labor"⁸

The list of the Captain's servants will not prove uninteresting to the reader. The same was compiled from the accounts in Richardson's *Side-lights on Maryland History* and Neill's *Founders of Maryland*. Both these authors make their citations from the Annapolis Records.⁹

Regarding the first servants of the Captain to arrive in the colony, we find the following entry on the records, made in February, 1652: "A list of persons brought into the Province

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁸ Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, pp. 80-1.

⁹ Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, pp. 8-15; Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-9.

of Maryland at the cost and charges of me, Thomas Cornwalleys, Esq., since the first seating in Anno 1634 [new style], to this year, 1652, for which I demand land according to the conditions of Plantations from time to time; Anno 1634, transported in the *Ark* myself and 12 servants. By my partner, Mr. John Sanders, who dying gave me that year, 5 servants. Brought the same year from Virginia, four servants, viz: Cuthbert Fenwick, Christopher Martin, John Norton, Senior, John Norton, Junior, so in all that year, 2 and 20 persons.”¹⁰

Who the twelve men were does not appear. The five servants of Sanders referred to are: Benjamin Hodges, John Elkin, Richard Cole, Richard Nevill, John Marlburgh.¹¹

The following were brought over to the colony in various years as indicated:

1633. (O. S.) John Hollowes, John Holdern, Roger Walter, Roger Morgan, Josias . . ., Thomas Beckworth, Matthew Burrowes, Samuel . . ., Cuthbert Fenwick, Richard Loe, William Fitter, John Robinson, William Browne, Stephen Gore, Stephen Jammison and Stephen Sammon.¹²

As Richardson was only concerned with the first settlers, we complete our list from Neill's account. It is to be noted that this author uses the new-style date.

1635. Zachary Mottershead, John Gage, Walter Waterling, Francis Van Eyden, William Penshoot, Richard Cole, John Medley, Richard Brown and Richard Brock.

1636. John Cook, Thomas York, Daniel Clocker, Richard Hill and Restitutia Tue.

1637. Charles Maynard, Stephen Gray, Francis Shirley, Ann Wiggin and Alice Moreman.

1639. Nicholas Gwyther, Edmund Jaques, Richard Farmer, Edmund Deering, George . . ., William Freak, Morris Freeman, Jeremiah Coote and Martha Jackson.

¹⁰ Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-5; O'Daniel, *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P.*, inclines to the opinion that Cuthbert Fenwick came to Maryland on the *Ark*. He substantiates his argument by two records to this effect against one record that he was brought from Virginia. For the three records, see Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 14, 15.

¹¹ Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-2.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 14. Stephen Sammon and Stephen Jammison are probably the same person. The two entries list ten names which are identical except the last. In one entry it gives Sammon and in the other Jammison.

1640. William Durford, Henry Brooke, George . . . , Edward Matthews and Hannah Ford.

1641. Francis Anthill, Richard Harvey, Charles Rawlinson, Richard Harris, Thomas Harrison, Edward Ward, Robert King, Mary Phillips, John Wheatley and his wife.

1642. Thomas Rockwood, John Rockwood and Elizabeth Batte.

1646. Magdalene Wittle.

1651. Robert Curtis, William Sinckleare, Thomas Frisell, William Wells, John Maylande, John Eston and Sarah Lindle.

Besides the lists of the servants of Captain Cornwaleys, we are also able, from various sources, to give a list of the different tracts of land acquired by him during the years of his sojourn in Maryland. His estates will appear in the order of their acquisition.

Cornwaleys Cross, a tract of two thousand acres surveyed on September 19, 1639, and located near St. Mary's. Cornwaleys usually resided at the *Cross*.¹³

St. Elizabeth's, a tract of the same extent as the *Cross*, surveyed at the same time.

West St. Mary's Mannour, a tract of two thousand acres, surveyed September 20, 1640.

Resurrection Mannour, a tract of four thousand acres, surveyed March 24, 1650.

Nuthall, a tract of two hundred acres, surveyed July 28, 1654.

Cornwaleys' Choice, a tract of one thousand acres, surveyed August 16, 1658.

Verina, a tract of one thousand acres, surveyed August 21, 1658, for Captain Cornwaleys. Possessed by Daniel Pierce, William Freeman, Samuel Bostic, James Wilson, William Smith and John Wilson.¹⁴

Cornwaleys also possessed a tract known as *Cornwaleys' Neck*, located in St. Mary's County. What the extent of

¹³ Davis, *The Day-Star of American Freedom*, p. 209.

¹⁴ Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 288, 290, 291, 292, 294; also Streeter, *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, p. 203; Kilty, *The Land-Holders Assistant*, p. 70.

this tract was, we have been unable to find. On March 7, 1642, the colonial surveyor was ordered to lay out four thousand acres "in any part of Patowmack river, upward of Port Tobacco Creek." This may have been the tract known as *Cornwaleys' Neck*.¹⁵

Having digressed at some length to examine the possessions of Captain Cornwaleys, we now continue our narrative.

During Governor Stone's incumbency, several Indian tribes again became troublesome. The incursions were of such a nature as to cause the inhabitants of the colony to petition the Governor to take measures for the adequate protection of their lives and property. Stone at once responded to their request. Not content with consulting his Counsel, he decided to call upon several men whose sound judgment and experience in Indian warfare particularly qualified them to give advice in such an emergency. Among these, after a long disappearance from the stage, Thomas Cornwaleys again comes forward in his old character of trusted adviser, and one of the firm bulwarks of the colony.¹⁶

At a Court session held at St. Mary's, on November 25, 1652, the Governor and Council, together with Cornwaleys and others whose advice and assistance was desired, deliberated on an expedition against the Indians. As a result of this meeting, it was decided that sufficient forces be levied for a march against the eastern shore Indians. For this purpose, every seventh man throughout the Province was to be called into the service, councillors and other public officers being excepted. The six persons not drafted, were to supply the seventh with provisions, arms, and ammunition. All were to rendezvous at Kent Island by December 30th, where they were to be commanded by Captain William Fuller. This gentleman was the principal military man among the Parliamentarians of the Province. He came over from Virginia with the Puritan settlers in 1649.¹⁷

¹⁵ Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 and 190.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁷ III—*Archives of Maryland, Council*, p. 282; also Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5.

Just why the veteran Cornwaleys was not chosen for the leadership of this movement is not known. Streeter thinks that the reason was due to previous hard service, ill health, or wounds received in previous expeditions. He also considers it likely that the appointment of Fuller was more opportune since he resided nearer the scene of the proposed operations. He was popular in that quarter where a considerable part of the force was to be drawn, and consequently was better fitted than an inhabitant of another part of the colony.¹⁸

This Indian expedition was destined to fall through as so many previous ones. Divers obstacles arose, rendering it impossible to collect a sufficient force for the project. Fuller was very willing to undertake the commission entrusted to him. The principal objection on the part of the settlers was the season of the year. During the winter it was hard to obtain provisions and they thought that they would suffer more from climatic hardships than from the assaults of the savages. Besides, some of the Indians had become aware of the design and were ready to meet the colonists in an engagement. Stone decided to abandon the scheme for the time being and, on December 18, 1652, directed those who had assembled to return to their homes.¹⁹

According to Neill, Cornwaleys visited England in 1654. He stated that while there, probably in 1657, he married a young maiden, Penelope, daughter of John Wiseman of Middle Temple, and Tyrrels, in County Essex. She was then twenty-one years of age. We are of the opinion that Neill is mistaken with regard to the marriage of Cornwaleys as shown in the first chapter of this biography.

Matters about this time looked ominous for the Maryland province. Ingle was besieging Parliament with petitions, complaints and charges. Claiborne again was active and even boasted that the Maryland Charter would be annulled and he would have Kent Island, Indian disturbances were

¹⁸ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

threatening, while the enemies of Maryland in Virginia were full of hope. These troubles were due to the disturbed condition of affairs in the mother country. The charge that Maryland was groaning under Popish tyranny was again brought forward. To answer this last charge, the Maryland Governor as well as many prominent Protestants in the Legislature and other citizens, all Protestant, drew up a declaration that they were in no wise molested on account of their religion, in which they were protected by both the law of the land as well as by the strict injunctions of the Proprietary.²⁰

When Cromwell took upon himself the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, Governor Stone, early in May, 1654, proclaimed him with the firing of cannon, a proclamation of pardons and other manifestations of joy. Dissatisfaction, however, at some of the Proprietary's laws were felt in some quarters. The people of the Patuxent and Severn Rivers, and of Kent, strongly objected to the terms of an oath of fidelity to Lord Baltimore, required of those who held lands. Some, acting under orders from the Proprietor, insisted that they take the oath or forfeit their lands. Furthermore, the Governor refused to issue writs in any other name than that of Lord Baltimore. Petitions were sent to Bennett and Claiborne, two leaders in a movement to have Lord Baltimore removed from jurisdiction of his Province, and to have the old Charter of Virginia renewed. Finding Stone determined in his course, these two men came into Maryland in July 1654, and compelled him to resign. They then placed the Government in the hands of ten commissioners, at the head of whom was Captain Fuller. After this they returned to Virginia. Bennett went to England to assist in furthering the Virginia cause before the Lord Protector.²¹

Thus matters stood until March, 1655, when a cutting reprimand from the Proprietary aroused Stone. He resumed his title and official functions, as Governor, and gathered an armed force to proceed against the malcontents. A fight

²⁰ Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, pp. 140-1.

²¹ Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9.

ensued in which Stone was utterly defeated, many of his men slain, and several afterwards executed by the victors.

The Province after this remained for some time under the control of Fuller and his party, though occasionally disturbed by Captain Josias Fendall, in behalf of the Proprietary. Fendall on July 10, 1656, was appointed Governor with Philip Calvert, brother of Cecilius Calvert, who was sent over, as Secretary. Thus the Province was under a divided rule, some recognizing Fuller and others, Fendall.²²

In June, 1657, Fendall sailed for England, leaving the control of affairs at St. Mary's in the hands of Dr. Luke Barber. Whilst there, Lord Baltimore and the agents of Virginia in England discussed a compromise. As a result of this meeting, Calvert promised the party of opposition in the colony that, in case they recognized his officers and laid aside all claims to authority, and promised to surrender the records and the great seal, and forget past controversies, he would modify the oath of fidelity for those wishing to take up lands and would never consent to a repeal of the Act of Toleration.²³

Upon Fendall's return, he called a meeting of the Counsel of the Province at St. Leonard's, on March 18, 1657, at which Captain Cornwaleys, who had returned to Maryland in the meantime, was present as Assistant to Governor Fendall and Secretary Calvert. At this meeting Fendall made known the terms of the agreement with the Proprietary that resulted from the meeting in England.²⁴ Among the instructions brought back by Fendall was one in which he was ordered in the performance of his duties as Governor, always to proceed with the advice of his Secretary, Philip Calvert. In case the Secretary was absent from Maryland; or in case he fell ill, or was otherwise prevented from acting, then the Governor should act with the advice and approbation of Captain Thomas Cornwaleys. Furthermore, in case of attestations of grants, the Captain and two others of the Council should

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1.

²⁴ *III—Archives*, p. 334.

sign them. The effect of this order was to make Cornwaleys, in the absence of Calvert, Secretary of the Province.²⁵ As a result of the meeting of March 18th, peace was again restored. Fuller recognized the authority of Fendall as Baltimore's only true and authorized representative, on the last day of the year 1657. Thus Captain Cornwaleys, after many years of varied experience in the toils, hardships and vicissitudes of colonial life, had the satisfaction of crowning his active and useful labors, by a participation in the negotiations that brought about this happy result, and of receiving from Lord Baltimore a recognition of his claims to his gratitude and respect, in his appointment, in case of necessity, to discharge the offices of the second official in the Province.²⁶

Few memoranda remain on the records of the Province from now on regarding Captain Cornwaleys. In fact, with the last mentioned episode, ends the story of his personal connection with the colony. Streeter says of him: "After twenty-five years of persevering labor, which had been rewarded by the accumulation of a handsome estate, of honesty and promptitude in his private dealings, and firmness and courage in his public services, which had won for him the favor and respect of the people, he prepared, with the general regret of the colonists to return to England." There, in the land of his birth, he was to take up his residence and to spend his declining years.²⁷ Leaving his ample estate under the control of Richard Hotchkeys, empowered to act as his sole attorney for its management, the Captain, with his wife, sailed for England, on June 2, 1659.²⁸

A few entries on the colonial records tell us that the management of his estates was not unattended by inconveniences. In fact, in one case at least, he had sufficient reason to complain of the ingratitude of one whom he had befriended. At a meeting of the Council held at Resurrection Manor, on

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

²⁶ Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁸ *III—Archives*, p. 381.

December 12, 1659, John Abington appeared as a petitioner on behalf of the Captain. This man became Cornwaleys' attorney on the death of Hotchkkeys by designation of Cornwaleys. He had been appointed as agent to receive payments of tobacco for him. When his debtors refused to pay him, he asked for authority from the officials of the Province to confirm the appointment made by the Captain. The Council at once acceded to his request.²⁹

A few months before leaving Maryland, Captain Cornwaleys purchased a plantation belonging to John Nicholls, whom he had frequently befriended. This man had become involved in debt. At the same time, at Nicholls' earnest solicitation and as an act of kindness, he consented, though he had no need for her services, to take as a servant, Nicholls' daughter, because he was so poor that he could not support his family. Nicholls later complained that his daughter had entered the service of the Captain at the latter's earnest entreaty, that she had been hired to wait upon his wife and to be treated like his own child. Instead, he alleged, when Cornwaleys departed with his wife, the girl was left behind, and treated as a slave. On February 11, 1662, Nicholls laid these complaints before the Council of the Province. As no witness was called on the Captain's behalf, it was decided that Nicholls' charges were true and it was ordered that the girl be restored.³⁰

When Cornwaleys received information of these proceedings, he was too tenacious of his rights, and too jealous for the honor of his character to let this matter pass unnoticed. At the session of the Assembly which convened at St. Mary's, in September, 1663, under the Presidency of Charles Calvert, the eldest son of the Proprietor, William Calvert and Thomas Notley presented a petition on behalf of the Captain (September 18th). In it Cornwaleys set forth the true state of affairs. He told the Assembly just how Nicholls' daughter had come into his service and expressed his dissatisfaction at the action of the law in giving a verdict against him in

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

Nicholls' favor.³¹ After the petition was read, it was ordered to be indorsed with the words "Let justice be done" and sent to the Governor for his signature.³² When the hearing of the case was to take place, Nicholls did not appear. It was then ordered that the whole case be brought up again before the Provincial Court on December 8th, 1663. Whether the case came up at that time, or how it was decided, the remaining records do not inform us. However, if the transaction was fairly investigated, the verdict was such that the well-earned reputation of the Captain for fairness and honor was completely vindicated.

Further, trace of Cornwaleys' career, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is not recorded. Neill states that he died in 1676 at the age of seventy-two. Even this is uncertain since it hinges on the question as to whether the Thomas Cornwaleys of the genealogical tree furnished by the work, *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis* is the same individual as Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, Commissioner and Counsellor of Maryland.³³

Two records, one of St. Mary's County, the other of Baltimore County, tell us of one William Cornwaleys. The first is a will dated April 24, 1678; the second a record of a surveyor for laying out a tract for William Cornwallis, dated November 29, 1679.³⁴ Whether he was a son of the Captain cannot be definitely settled. Streeter thinks that this is not improbable.³⁵ The same author writes: "So disappear the generations, and so are dispersed the worldly goods of those who, in their day, have done their fellows good service. But their good deeds survive them. The remembrance of their virtues will not die out. In the present case, '*stet nominis umbra*.' As the men of the past had reason to respect the man himself, so those of the present, on a recapitulation of the deeds of his active and useful life . . . will pay a merited tribute of honor to the name of CORNWALEYS." ³⁶

³¹ *I—Archives*, p. 463.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 466.

³³ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³⁴ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

³⁵ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The planting of a colony, amid the dangers and privations of a wilderness, from the most ancient times, assumed a high rank among the heroic works of man. To the credit due to the Maryland colonists as founders of a great State, undying honor belongs to them as the founders of religious liberty in America. Among the little band that began the provincial history of Maryland on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1634, Thomas Cornwaleys stands out as one of the noblest.

His career has been described in these pages. Though his ancestry cannot be ascertained with certainty, yet Captain Thomas Cornwaleys needed not the factitious blazonry of a noble lineage to support his fame. Whether we consider him as a Commissioner or Councillor, whether we study his acts in the colonial army as its commander, in the Assembly as legislator, or in the Provincial Court as judge, we are struck with the achievements of this man.

As Commissioner and later as Councillor, he was the trusted friend of the Proprietary and the able adviser of the Governor. How much Lord Baltimore relied upon him in this capacity may be gathered from the occasion when he was appointed to act as Deputy Governor, and as adviser to Governors Calvert and Fendall. His relations with Cecilius Calvert seem to have always been of a friendly nature. In his letter to him in 1638, he speaks frankly and fearlessly—the manner of procedure between friends. His connections with Leonard Calvert, too, were generally of an amicable nature, though at times he had his differences with this official.

As Captain General of the army of the colony, we find Cornwaleys an undaunted leader. In the quarrel with Claiborne, he successfully vindicated the rights of the Proprietary. In the suppression of Indian hostilities, he must be regarded as the most courageous man in the whole colony. In fact,

when the cause of the colonists' safety and protection seemed to be utterly lost due to hesitancy and indifference on the part of the colonists themselves, then it is that we find the Captain levying an army of volunteers to make a desperate attempt to end once and for all the Indian hostilities that were the bane of the settlers and the friendly tribes alike.

In the Assembly, Cornwaleys' one object was to secure lasting benefits of just and wise legislation for the good of the colony. He considered nothing so important as an assiduous devotion on the part of the members of the Assembly to carry on the business for which they met. He was a popular leader, championing the rights of the colonists on all occasions. He ever worked for the curtailment of official privilege. Above all, he strove for the securing of the right of the people to legislate for themselves. This they did achieve.

His career in the Provincial Court is marked with justice in the vindication of the laws of the Province. Though he was ever on the side of justice, he was not so stern a judge as not to feel commiseration for the guilty. Thus we find him in his letter referred to so frequently in these pages, writing to Lord Baltimore telling him of his sorrow for the fate of Thomas Smith, who was condemned to death for his part in the Kent uprising. He also tells the Proprietor of his sympathy for the wife of the doomed man. His impartiality was evidenced on all occasions, notably when he was called upon to sit in judgment on the acts of some few who disturbed the peaceful relations existing between the Protestants and the Catholics.

Cornwaleys' religion meant much to him. It was to secure freedom of worship that he left his native land. His zeal for the prosperity of the Church in Maryland has been described in the chapter on the relations between himself and the missionaries. In the annual letter of the Jesuits of 1638, cited in the chapter on Hawley and Cornwaleys, mention was made of the fact that during that year many of the prominent men in the colony performed the spiritual

exercises conducted by the Fathers. In all probability, Cornwaleys was one of their number.

We might go on at length to discuss the merits of Thomas Cornwaleys as exhibited during his career in Maryland. Enough has been said in this work to bring into bold relief the sterling character of the Captain. Though no monument has been erected to remind us of his services to Maryland, his memory should not be allowed to pass.

CHAPTER XIV

CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

GENERAL WORKS

Since no account of any length has yet appeared on Thomas Cornwaleys, a variety of sources was consulted in the preparation of this dissertation ranging from works dealing with the history of America, the United States and England, to histories of various episodes and personages. The work of Justin Winsor, *History of America*, Vol. III, Boston and New York, 1884, contains a splendid account on the History of Maryland. To the study of the writer on Maryland in this critical work, Mr. Winsor has added the fruit of his own researches. In the work entitled *The American Nation*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, LL. D., the volume (Vol. IV) by Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL. D., *England in America*, New York and London, 1904, a succinct account of Maryland with a very good bibliography is to be found. Henry William Elson's *History of the United States of America* (Vol. I), New York, 1905, also embraces a brief account of the period with which we dealt. English histories employed were: John Lingard, D. D., *The History of England* (Vols. VII and VIII), London, 1855; and Dodd-Tierney, *Church History of England*, Vols. IV and V, London, 1841 and 1843. The latter is a highly annotated work.

GENERAL WORKS ON MARYLAND

Standard authorities for the history of Maryland are John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1831, of which only the first volume appeared; John Leeds Bozman, *The History of Maryland* (2 Vols, Baltimore, 1837, covering the period of 1634 to 1658); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (3 Vols., Baltimore, 1879); James McSherry, *A History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1852. Of these McMahon's work was found of the greatest value in considering the Maryland Charter. Bozman has written a highly documented work that is very thorough.

William T. Russell, now Bishop of Charleston, S. C., in *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, Baltimore, 1907, has dealt principally with the story of religious toleration in Maryland history. His book is enriched with copious references. Newton D. Mereness has contributed a valuable work on the government of Maryland in his work, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, New York, 1901. Other works dealing with this subject are Herbert L. Osgood's article in the *American Historical Review* (Vol. II, 1896-97), *The Proprietary Province as a Form of Colonial Government*; William Hand Browne, *Maryland the History of a Palatinate*, Boston, 1888.

SPECIAL WORKS ON THOMAS CORNWALEYS

Sebastian F. Streeter, in his *Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1876, gives a very good account of Thomas Cornwaleys. The chapter contains few references. However, the author has been found most reliable. A distinct feature of the Streeter Papers is the brief biographical notice he gives of the members who composed the first Assembly of Maryland of which a record has come down to us. Rev. Edward D. Neill, in a work entitled, *The Founders of Maryland*, Albany, 1876, devotes a chapter to Thomas Cornwaleys. He also wrote an article under the caption *Thomas Cornwaleys and Early Maryland Colonists*, Boston, 1889 (reprinted from the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1889). In both these productions, Neill contrary to all authorities asserts that Cornwaleys was a Protestant. The author is not free from bias and has not been used in this dissertation except in a few instances and then only with reservation and when he had other authorities to support his statements.

DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL FOR THIS BIOGRAPHY

The printed *Archives of Maryland*, published by the Maryland Historical Society, have furnished the best source material in the preparation of this dissertation. Five volumes of these colonial records contain material dealing

with Thomas Cornwaleys. They are the following: Vol. I, *Proceedings of the Assembly*, Jan. 1637–8—Sept. 1664, Baltimore, 1883; Vol. III, *Proceedings of the Council*, 1636–1667, Baltimore, 1885; Vol. IV, *Provincial Court*, 1637–1650, Baltimore, 1887; Vol. V, *Proceedings of the Council*, 1667–1687/8, Baltimore, 1887; and Vol. X, *Provincial Court*, 1649/50–1657, Baltimore, 1891. It is to be regretted that these volumes are not enriched with more copious indices.

Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 1633–1684, in J. F. Jameson's *Original Narratives of Early American History*, New York, 1910.

Two numbers of *The Calvert Papers* have been most serviceable. Number 1, Baltimore, 1889, contains letters of such persons as Thomas Cornwaleys, Cecilius Calvert, Governor Calvert, Father Copley and others; Number 3, Baltimore, 1889, gives *A Brief Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland*.

A manuscript of the *Public Record Office* dealing with an episode in the Ingle affair, labeled *Admiralty High Court, Libel Bundle, 108, No. 21*, is to be found in the *Library of Congress Transcripts*.

Other sources that have been valuable aids in studying the Ingle-Cornwaleys case are *Lords' Journal*, Vol. VIII, 1645–1646; Manuscripts of the House of Lords, calendared in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Sixth Report*, London, 1877.

Besides the *Relation* referred to above, there are two other accounts dealing with the coming of the Maryland colonists, the *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, by Father Andrew White, S. J., published with an English translation and edited by Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, S. T. D., in Baltimore, 1874; and *A Relation of Maryland*, reprinted from the London edition of 1635, and edited with notes and an appendix by Francis L. Hawks, New York, 1865.

HISTORIES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

In several histories dealing with the Jesuit Order, material on Cornwaleys was found available. Of these, the best is

that of Thomas Hughes, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal* (2 volumes of *Text* and 2 volumes of *Documents*), New York, 1907-1917. Other works under this category are: Henry Foley, S. J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (Vol. III), London, 1878, and Rev. William P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries*, Swedesboro, N. J., 1889.

BIOGRAPHIES

In studying the extant genealogies of Thomas Cornwaleys, the following works were consulted: Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, Boston and New York, 1890; *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis*, London, 1842; *The Cyclopedia of American Biography*, New York, 1915; and *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. XII), edited by Leslie Stephen, New York, 1887. As noted in the first chapter of this dissertation, the genealogical notices of Thomas Cornwaleys do not appear to us as conclusive.

GENERAL WORKS CONSULTED

George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland*, reprinted from the original edition of 1666, with introduction and notes by Newton D. Mereness, Cleveland, 1902.—William Hand Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert Lords Baltimore*, New York, 1890.—*Catholic Record Society*, Vol. VIII, *Miscellanea*, London, 1913.—R. H. Clarke, LL. D., *Bancroft's History of the United States*, in *The Catholic World* (Vols. 38 and 39).—Sanford Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, New York, 1902.—George Lynn-Lachlan Davis, *The Day-Star of American Freedom or The Birth and Early Growth of Toleration in the Province of Maryland*, New York, 1855.—M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, Boston, 1887.—Edward Ingle, *Captain Richard Ingle, the Maryland Pirate and Rebel*, Baltimore, 1884.—John Johnson, *Old Maryland Manors*, Baltimore, 1883.—John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, Baltimore, 1808.—John H. Latané, *The*

Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia (Johns Hopkins University Studies), Baltimore, March and April, 1895.—R. R. Madden, *The History of the Penal Laws enacted against Roman Catholics*, London, 1847.—Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M., *Cuthbert Fenwick—Pioneer Catholic and Legislator of Maryland*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. V; and *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P.*, Washington, D. C., 1920.—Beauchamp Plantagenet, *A Description of the Province of New Albion* (printed in 1648), *American Colonial Tracts*, Vol. II, No. 6, Rochester, 1898.—Thomas Wentworth Strafford, *Letters and Dispatches*, edited by Sir George Radcliffe (2 Vols.), London, 1739.—Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, Baltimore, 1913.—John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Vol. I), New York, 1886; and *Maryland and the Controversies as to her Early History*, in *American Catholic Quarterly Review* (Vol. X), Philadelphia, 1885.—Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D., *Beginnings of Maryland 1631-1639*, Baltimore, 1903; and *Maryland during English Civil Wars*, Baltimore, 1903.

VITA

George Boniface Stratemeier was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 21, 1895. He received his elementary education in St. Joseph's School, Pittsburgh, and his classical course in St. Vincent College, Beatty, Pa. He entered the novitiate of the Order of Preachers at St. Joseph's Convent, Somerset, Ohio, in 1914, and in the following year the Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D. C. Here were completed his studies in Philosophy and Theology. He was ordained to the priesthood on June 12, 1921. From 1915 until 1922, he followed courses at the Catholic University in American Church History, the English Counter-Reformation and English Institutions, under Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph. D.; in American Church History, under Rev. Patrick W. Browne, S. T. D.; in Medieval Institutions, under Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., S. T. D.; in Medieval German Legends and Indo-Germanic Philology, under Paul Gleis, Ph. D.; and in Homiletics, under Rt. Rev. Hugh T. Henry, Litt. D., LL. D.

